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Karpov Discusses 'Star Wars,' Arms Talks Progress

PM0510161589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V. Karpov by own correspondent A. Shalnev in New York: "We Have Renounced Arguments That Lead Nowhere"—date of interview not stated; first paragraph is Shalnev introduction]

[Text] From Viktor Karpov's viewpoint, the "Star Wars" program, in the form in which President Reagan conceived it, does not exist.

"In 1983, when the 'Star Wars' program was put forward," the USSR deputy foreign minister said in an interview for IZVESTIYA, "it looked terrifying. Why? Fantastic plans were put forward for deploying echelons of space defense—in the near approaches, the distant reaches, and in between. But how has it turned out now? These 'brilliant pebbles,' which are regarded as the program's biggest achievement in all these years, can only be deployed after the year 2000. And then only perhaps. Is there any guarantee that they will do what is expected of them—that is, destroy enemy missiles in flight? There is no guarantee."

[Shalnev] Viktor Pavlovich, the ways in which the United States has reacted to the recent Soviet-U.S. talks in Wyoming—and you were a participant in those talks—include the following response: By proposing to break the linkage between the ABM Treaty and a future agreement on strategic offensive arms reduction, the Soviet side killed the "Star Wars" program. They say that this is a brilliant tactical ruse on our part, by means of which we have removed SDI from the game as a U.S. bargaining chip in negotiations with us in Geneva. Is it really a ruse?

[Karpov] Do you want me to answer that question? However, we did indeed kill it. I think both sides tried to. The Americans themselves realize that nothing useful will come of that program.

[Shalnev] But at the news conference in Wyoming Secretary of State James Baker stated frankly: "We resolutely declared to the Soviet side our total support for the 'Star Wars' program."

[Karpov] Quite true. They did. But what did they declare? Support for "Star Wars"—he did not use those words. He said—as I remember it—"strategic defense." And what is "strategic defense"?

[Shalnev] It has always been taken as unequivocal: "Star Wars."

[Karpov] Yes, after Reagan put forward this idea in March 1983, it was taken as unequivocal, but now it is not unequivocal. There are various options.

[Shalnev] In other words, Baker did not necessarily have the "Star Wars" program in mind.

[Karpov] Not necessarily the program that Reagan had in mind. Bush has departed from Reagan. A very long way. But it probably does not make sense to abandon just like that a program that yields enormous scientific benefits—technological inventions, discoveries.

[Shalnev] Is it a question of inventions that could be used in civilian sectors, not military?

[Karpov] Yes, civilian.

[Shalnev] And what if the President says frankly: "We are making a huge profit, let us continue this program"?

[Karpov] It will cease to be a program in the security sphere, with all the ensuing consequences. First and foremost, financial. They will not be putting money into it as they would for a security program. That is for sure.

[Shalnev] I want to touch on a few other problems on this same subject of the "Star Wars" program, the ABM Treaty, and the potential strategic arms agreement. The Americans invited our scientists, our experts, to visit the U.S. laboratories where SDI research is in progress. Did we agree?

[Karpov] Not yet. We have not yet responded. We will look into it. I think we will probably accept the invitation.

[Shalnev] What news from Geneva? Last week the strategic arms talks resumed there. As I understand it, the Americans were to submit their position in response to the proposals we put forward in Wyoming. Did they?

[Karpov] No. At any rate, I do not know of it.... In Wyoming we proposed that the ABM Treaty be observed. That is the main question, the question of principle. If the treaty is observed, then there will be a possibility of concluding an accord on a 50-percent reduction in strategic arms. If not, there will be no such possibility. We said to the Americans in Wyoming: "Agree." We are waiting for them to agree to our proposal. We also want to hear their concrete agreement—or nonagreement—to our proposals on reductions in SLCM's....

[Shalnev] As I understand it, we are prepared to remove SLCM's from the text of the future strategic arms agreement. What does this mean? Is it proposed that our president and their president should exchange messages of some kind expressing their intentions in concrete terms?

[Karpov] No, it must be a verifiable accord. We emphasized this in Wyoming. The Americans did not want to include SLCM's in the text of the treaty. We said: "If you don't want to, you don't have to. But there must be an accord on this question, too. A verifiable accord." That is what we proposed to them. There are complications, of course. On surface ships, verifying [proveryat] sea-launched missiles is elementary. On submarines, it is more difficult. But verification [proverka] is possible: If a submarine surfaces, it can be verified from above,

although the reactor creates background noise, and all the rest of it. But the Americans do not want to limit sea-based arms at all. Why not? Because the U.S. Navy is better than ours in terms of quality—specifically in terms of quality.

[Shalnev] Could it possibly happen that, while getting really close to a treaty on the reduction of strategic arms, we will not reach agreement on SLCM's? Will we sign a treaty on strategic nuclear arms in such an event?

[Karpov] I would put it this way: We consider it very important at this time to limit not only ground- and air-launched, but also sea-launched systems. Paul Nitze (leader of the U.S. delegation to the Geneva talks in the early eighties—A.Sh.) once told Yuliy Kvitsinskiy (leader of the Soviet delegation at that time—A.Sh.): "We will surround you, like a bear in its lair, with our SLCM's." But let us get back to Wyoming. The proposals we put forward there untangle the knot which prevented us for years from reaching an agreement on strategic arms. We finally abandoned arguments which had driven us into a blind alley, arguments whether or not a time limit ought to be set for nonwithdrawal from the ABM Treaty. The treaty itself, in its Article 15, covers the possibility of withdrawal from it in the event of state security being jeopardized. But we started an argument: Should we not establish a period of some 10 years during which there can be no withdrawal from the treaty. And we went on arguing, arguing, arguing. This argument was a waste of time. There was no need to start this argument. Now we have introduced a new element: If a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic arms is concluded, we will enshrine a provision in it—or make it implicit—that, in the event of the U.S. side breaching the ABM Treaty, we reserve the right to withdraw from the treaty on reduction of strategic arms. There you have the interdependence.

[Shalnev] Are the Americans agreeable to signing such a provision?

[Karpov] They are not very agreeable; put it that way. But why do we insist on this? Currently we have somewhere in the region of just over 2,000 missiles, the Americans have 1,600. The limits to be introduced by the treaty on strategic arms—limits of 1,600 delivery vehicles for each side—mean a reduction for us, not for the Americans: They will retain the 1,600 they already have. In these circumstances, should we have some sort of guarantee or not?

[Shalnev] The "open skies" concept, we have agreed to. But here is a question: The U.S. aircraft to overfly our territory can take off from virtually anywhere—there is a multitude of bases all around our country. But from where will our aircraft take off to overfly U.S. territory?

[Karpov] We agreed that special airfields will be designated in Canada, in the United States, and in our Far East. Such an agreement with the Canadian Government exists. I have personally talked to the Canadians. The point is that the Canadians initiated "open skies." It was, after all, Prime Minister Mulroney who thought of the idea. He presented it to Bush when they met, and Bush put it forward. But it was the Canadians who came to us with all clarifications. It was their idea. It can be implemented at any time. Incidentally, we are putting forward some quite radical proposals here: There must be equality for all. It is necessary to create a pool of aircraft which could be used by all parties on an equal footing. Equipment and aircraft.

[Shalnev] In other words, we could ask the Americans to use their technology for overflying their territory?

[Karpov] And why not?

[Shalnev] One last question: Will we have time before the summit meeting to do everything that has to be done so that an agreement on strategic arms can be signed?

[Karpov] The question of SLCM's could retard an agreement. The question of air-launched cruise missiles?.... The Americans propose a counting system which assumes that each aircraft carries 12 missiles. But only six missiles can be fitted on our Tu-95. Admittedly our new Tu-160 aircraft can carry 12. But we are producing this aircraft only in limited numbers. It is a very expensive aircraft. Yet the U.S. B-52 can carry 12 missiles, and now there are plans for 20. The upshot is that if we count 12 per aircraft we will not reach our limit, while the Americans will exceed theirs. Their pool of aircraft is much larger than ours. Generally speaking, I do have some doubts, even though I am an optimist.

Warsaw Pact Offers More Proposals at CFE Talks

PM0410152189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent S. Tosunyan: "Positions Getting Closer"]

[Text] Vienna—The leader of the Soviet delegation at the talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments comments on the Warsaw Pact countries' recent proposals.

It is only a week since the NATO countries put forward their proposals at the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments, which were approved by the Warsaw Pact countries' delegations. Now, at the latest plenary session the Warsaw Pact countries have placed on the negotiating table a package of new initiatives which, in the opinion of diplomats and military experts, will contribute even more to bringing the sides' positions closer together. Basically these initiatives, put forward on behalf of the Warsaw Pact countries by GDR Ambassador Klaus-Dieter Ernst, tackle the complex problem of helicopter and aircraft levels. Different approaches to determining these levels have long been a stumbling block at the talks. Now the sides' proposed figures for combat helicopters fully coincide—each side will be allowed to keep 1,900. Positions on

determining aircraft levels are considerably closer. Views on air defense aircraft still diverge, however.

Special envoy O.A. Grinevskiy, leader of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna talks, explains this divergence and indicates the possibility of a further compromise:

"The Warsaw Pact countries are proposing that air defense aircraft should not be included in the quota, since they do not have the capablity to carry out strikes on ground targets and are not part of the surprise attack potential. Special historical features and geographical conditions predetermined our creation of categories of aircraft whose sole purpose is to protect vitally important facilities deep inside the European territory of the Soviet Union against air strikes from various directions. These aircraft have external safety characteristics which make them distinguishable from front-line combat aircraft both by their silhouette and by their armament and equipment.

"We are willing to give Western experts the opportunity to see this for themselves. In particular, it can be established by on-site verification and relevant notification. Of course, inspectors would have the right of free access to aircraft, the right to inspect them and their weapon systems.

"In the interests of compromise we might also agree to establish a definite level for air defense aircraft, provided, of course, the attack facilities these aircraft are meant to be used against are not increased."

The Soviet delegation leader then said: We suggested to the United States and the other NATO countries that a summit conference be held in the second half of 1990 to sign an agreement on conventional armed forces, which could be attended by the leaders of all the European states and by the United States and Canada. It would be an unprecented all-European conference in terms of its size. There could be a foreign ministers' meeting in Vienna early next year to prepare for it.

Warsaw Pact Military Council Holds Meeting

Poland's Siwicki Comments on Meeting

LD0410144789 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw October 4 TASS—The Warsaw Treaty Joint Armed Forces Military Council is meeting for the 40th time.

"We, as hosts, highly appreciate that the meeting is taking place in the capital of our country, in the city where the Warsaw Treaty was signed", TASS was told by Army General Florian Siwicki, member of the Polish United Workers' Party Politburo and defence minister of the Polish People's Republic.

"Many changes of exceptional, even crucial importance have occurred since the council last met in Poland in 1986. The Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee has met, for instance, and advanced concrete proposals to prevent war, safeguard peace, further improve the international climate," the general noted.

"We are very much interested in strengthening the Warsaw Treaty, in promoting and deepening cooperation among members of our socialist community. The Polish Government pays constant attention to maintaining Poland's defence potential at the necessary level, ensuring the efficiency and combat capacity of the Polish Army, which is part and parcel of the Warsaw Treaty".

Conclusion Announced

LD0510173589 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—The Military Council of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation's Joint Armed Forces held a regular meeting in Warsaw on October 3-5, chaired by their commander Army General Petr Lushev.

The meeting was attended by council members, representatives of the allied armies and the control structures of the joint forces.

The council reviewed the results of the forces' training this year and, guided by decisions taken by the Warsaw Treaty countries' political consultative committee last July, set tasks for next year.

The meeting also discussed a number of other issues within the competence of the joint forces' command.

The discussion was marked by a spirit of friendship, mutual understanding and businesslike comradely cooperation.

Yakovlev Speaks to Socialist Diplomatic Heads

LD0510224589 Moscow TASS in English 2211 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, met the heads of diplomatic missions of several socialist countries, accredited in Moscow.

Yakovlev spoke about the results of the September plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee (1989). He emphasised the key aspects of the party's platform on the nationalities policy in present-day conditions.

He called special attention to the preparations for the 28th CPSU congress in light of the restructuring processes inside the party.

Yakovlev also touched upon some questions of the USSR Supreme Soviet's legislative activity in the economic sphere, shared his impressions of the recent conference of Central Committee secretaries of the fraternal parties in Varna and answered questions.

International Seminar Seeks 'Ultimate' Communism

PM0410153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "International Seminar"]

[Text] An international seminar entitled "Party's Vanguard Role in Socialist Society: Problems and Experience of Study" has been held at the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy. Taking part in it were scientific staffers specializing in party building from social sciences academies and higher party schools attached to the central committees of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Workers Party of Korea, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the CPSU, and the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

The seminar participants' speeches covered a wide range of topical issues linked with the methodology and theory of the party as a political and ideological vanguard, demarcating the functions of the party and the socialist state, indicating the place and role of primary party organizations, and training party workers.

It was noted that, in terms of its ideology, policy, and organization, a communist party retains its proletarian class character, expresses the fundamental vital interests of its people, and defends common human values. That is why we should not oppose nationwide and common human interests but look for, seek, and find something common in them. The communist movement's ultimate aim—the creation of conditions for people's free and all-around development—is in line with the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

The idea was pursued that, in leading society's movement toward the ultimate goal of communism, we must ensure that the initiative and independent activity of the broadest masses of the people can develop. This is generally considered impossible without ridding the party of the functions of administering society's activity—functions which are alien to it but have become a habit.

TASS Reports Perfilyev News Briefing 5 Oct

U.S. Trade, Greenspan Visit

LD0510144989 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—The chairman of the U.S. federal reserve system, Alan Greenspan, is expected in Moscow next week for talks on a wide range of economic issues, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a news briefing here today.

He added that an increase in U.S. business activity in the USSR will depend in many ways on the American Government's encouragement of cooperation with Soviet organisations.

Perfilyev said that in this country, possibilities have been created for mutually beneficial commercial projects involving Soviet and U.S. organisations, in particular joint ventures.

However, of some 1,000 such partnerships now registered in the USSR, only a little over 70 are with U.S. firms. This is fewer than the number of joint operations, for example, with West German and Finnish companies and does not correspond to the potential of the Soviet Union and the United States, the spokesman said.

Panama Situation

LD0510152289 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—The Soviet Union is closely watching the developments inside and outside Panama, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

Tension in that country is not abating, he remarked. "On the contrary, it is heightening, as was demonstrated by the attempted coup on October 3."

"Naturally, this event is a purely internal matter of the Panamanians," Perfilyev added.

Tensions outside Panama remain high as well, he observed. The fact that internal processes in that country are being exacerbated by pressure from outside is giving rise to concern, he said.

The U.S. troops in the Panama Canal Zone have reportedly been placed on high alert. American officials, specifically Secretary of State James Baker, say that the United States is committed to resort to force in Panama. [As received]

All members of the international community should strictly abide by the fundamental principle of international relations, that of non-interference in domestic affairs of other countries, Perfilyev said.

The USSR's stance with regard to the Panamanian developments is well known and was recently confirmed during Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's working visit to Nicaragua.

It was stressed that both the USSR and Nicaragua resolutely oppose all forms of interference in the internal affairs of Panamanians, no matter where this interference might originate.

Economic Issues, Perestroyka

LD0510145489 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's remarks on economic matters to the Senate Finance Committee demonstrated the interest of the U.S. Administration in Soviet perestroika and possible areas of mutually advantageous cooperation, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said today.

Speaking at a news briefing, he added that this was also in line with the atmosphere and results of talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Baker in Wyoming and Washington.

The spokesman said the Soviet Union values the similarity of views on many issues and the understandings reached during the negotiations.

It is important that economic issues play an independent role in the Soviet-American dialogue, he said.

Commenting on prospects for Soviet membership of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, Perfilyev said that "our participation in them will only aid the search for points of contact in the economic interaction of the USSR and the United States and other members of these organisations".

Summary of News Conference

LD0510165289 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's remarks on economic matters to the Senate finance committee demonstrated the interest of the U.S. Administration in Soviet perestroika and possible areas of mutually advantageous cooperation, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said today.

Speaking at a news briefing, he said that the Soviet membership of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank "can only aid the search for points of contact in the economic interaction of the USSR and the United States and other members of these organizations".

The spokesman said the Soviet Union is following closely developments connected with Panama and is

concerned that tension in and around that country is mounting and that Panamanian problems are compounded by outside pressure.

The Soviet position on Panama was reiterated during a recent working visit to Nicaragua by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Perfilyev said. Declarations were made during that visit that the USSR and Nicaragua are strongly opposed to interference in the domestic affairs of Panama on anyone's part.

The spokesman announced that Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Treaty Countries' Joint Armed Forces, leaves for Rome today.

Lobov will deliver a report comparing the doctrines of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization to the North Atlantic Assembly on October 7. He will also speak about changes in Soviet military policy. He is also expected to hold a public debate with General John Galvin, supreme allied commander, Europe.

The briefing was also addressed by Supreme Soviet deputies who attended a session of the European council's parliamentary assembly in September for the first time.

They said that the development of relations with the European council is a very important aspect of efforts to build a "common European home".

The USSR sees it as another channel for east-west dialogue in Europe, an important tool for overcoming the continent's disunity and a way to move jointly towards a European community, the deputies said.

They added that both the Soviet Union and the European Council are obviously interested in using the opportunities opening up in these fields today.

Petrovskiy Urges 'Post-Confrontational Era'

LD0410143989 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 4 TASS—The current session of the U.N. General Assembly has triggered off a broad international dialogue on ways to consolidate and further promote renovation processes in world affairs.

Government officials, legislators and public leaders are discussing abolishing the last vestiges of the "cold war", of building up a new model of security and developing a reliable and comprehensive cooperation mechanism.

These topics were also discussed during the meetings that Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR and assistant head of the Soviet delegation, had with an Italian parliamentary delegation, with Maurice Strong, president of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, Jit Rikhye, president of the International Peace Academy, John Mroz, president of the Institute for East-West Security Studies, and Brian Urquhart, leading researcher of the Ford foundation and former assistant secretary-general of the United Nations.

Much attention was paid during the talks to raising the U.N.'s role in disarmament, in crisis and preventive diplomacy. The United Nations is turning increasingly into a centre of concerted international action, into a regulator of positive processes in the world community.

Its revival is regarded through the prism of the Soviet Union's new approaches, set forth in President Gorbachev's speech to the United Nations of December 7th, 1988.

It was pointed out during the meeting that improvement of Soviet-American relations was of cardinal importance for changing the international climate. The fact that through dialogue the Soviet Union and the United States are moving from confrontation to cooperation has a positive galvanizing effect. This is equally true of the agreements reached recently in Washington and Wyoming.

A distinctive feature of the contemporary situation is that the dialogue between the two powers is merging more than ever before with the universal effort to find ways to build a humane, democratic and demilitarized world order.

This is precisely how representatives of foreign political circles have evaluated the speech delivered at the U.N. General Assembly by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. They stressed that the session was marked by seriousness and confidence, which was evident also in the U.S. President's speech.

It was emphasized at the meetings that international relations had reached a crucial point. It is necessary to provide them with a structure ensuring security on new lines, a structure corresponding to the realities of the contemporary indivisible and interdependent world.

The role of the new structure's legal background has grown appreciably. It is called upon to ensure the gradual renunciation of nuclear and military deterrence and a transition to political-legal containment, so that a collective mechanism of international law and morale, not weapons, would guarantee us from any risky ventures.

The Soviet side noted that today, when a post-confrontational area has been ushered in, mankind should grasp the philosophy of this new world, espoused as it is to the idea of comprehensive security.

A broad and unbiased approach to global problems, backed by the readiness of governments and of world public opinion to get down to their solution, is inseparable from their ability to engage in self-analysis, to look at oneself through the eyes of others.

It is impossible to shape an effective political course today without "checking clocks", without correcting soberly and self-critically one's conception of our changing world. It is equally necessary to exploit the

present momentum in order to make irreversible the present course towards confidence and cooperation both in Soviet-American relations and in world affairs in general.

The harmonization of universal and national interests is a difficult but vital way to ensure civilisation's survival. The parties to the talks were unanimous on this score. They were also in accord that the destinies of the world were inseparable from the destinies of perestroika in the Soviet Union.

There was also unanimity on the role of public circles in restructuring world affairs. It is an urgent task today to increase their intellectual contribution to the infrastructure of confidence.

The Soviet representative stressed that the constructive proposals, advanced during these meetings, should be translated into practical policy.

'Preventive Diplomacy' Memorandum Proposed at UN

LD0510005289 Moscow TASS in English 2336 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 5 TASS—"Strengthening United Nations' preventive functions" is the title of the Soviet memorandum circulated on wednesday in the U.N. Headquarters.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister and Deputy Head of the Soviet delegation to the 44th session of the U.N. General Assembly Vladimir Petrovskiy sent to the U.N. secretary-general a letter requesting him to have the memorandum circulated as an official document of the U.N. General Assembly.

The memorandum contains practical recommendations regarding the most extensive and frequent use of the U.N. preventive diplomacy methods.

The ideas and deliberations formulated in the memorandum are in line with Soviet Union's earlier initiatives in this field.

The Soviet Union, the memorandum says, welcomes and shares the conviction, which is now strengthening in the world community, that one of the pivotal preconditions for the formation of a new peaceful period in the international development is the concentration of U.N. efforts not only on the elimination but also on the prevention of international crises and conflicts.

United Nations Committee Discusses Debts, Ecology

LD0410133289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0120 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Excerpts] New York, 4 Oct—TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetov reports:

Major questions relating to strengthening cooperation toward settling the problem of foreign debt, the protection of the environment, and elaborating a strategy for stable economic development are being discussed by participants in a general discussion which began here on Tuesday in the second committee (economic and financial) of the 44th sesion of the United Nations General Assembly. [passage omitted]

The USSR advocates a constructive and de-ideologized international dialogue about the ways of solving this problem in all its aspects—financial, economic and socio-political—said Viktor Zvezdin, the representative of the USSR. It is essential to work out a political consensus and to determine the framework for subsequent talks between debtors and creditors in order to move forward on alleviating the debt burden, he said.

In his speech the Soviet spokesman also spoke in detail on the task of surmounting the ecological threat. The acute nature of the situation underlines the need for the quickest possible elaboration of a strategy for the planet's ecological survival and for deepening international cooperation on nature protection. He noted the importance of issues concerning monitoring, assessing, and forecasting ecological threats with the aim of implementing effective measures to prevent ecological catastrophes. The USSR representative advocated setting up a center for urgent ecological aid under the United Nations as well as an international space laboratory or manned station for monitoring the earth's environment.

United Nations, Moscow To Sign Agreement on Crime

LD0410130289 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—The signing of a memorandum of understanding between the USSR Interior Ministry and the United Nations Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs is one of the purposes of the visit to Moscow by Margaret Joan Anstee, under-secretary-general of the United Nations, director of the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs. She arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Interior Ministry today.

Margaret Joan Anstee told TASS that combatting crime is common concern, that crime rate is growing in all countries, industrialised countries, particularly, and it takes joint effort to combat crime.

The U.N. under-secretary-general expressed concern with the spread of narcotics. She said that narcotics traffic is one of the main causes of the growth of crime, particularly among the young. She said vigorous participation of the USSR Interior Ministry in combatting crime at the international level will undoubtedly help oppose this scourge.

Commercial Software Joint Venture Created

PM0310152389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 3

[S. Leskov report under the rubric "Business World": "To Teach a Computer Politeness"]

[Excerpt] Several firms in Japan, West Europe, and the USSR have set up the "LANIT" joint venture, which will develop commercial programs for computers and distribute them on the Soviet and Western markets.

Many joint ventures are now being set up. What is the purpose and uniqueness of the new one? Candidate of Economic Sciences G. Gens, general director of the "LANIT" (Laboratory of New Information Technologies) joint venture, explains that it is planned to develop expert and instructional systems for the development of health care and school computer facilities, to create instruments in these areas, to carry out scientific research activity in the sphere of information technologies, to publish methods literature on this subject, to organize international symposiums and conferences on problems of computerization, and to offer services to foreign partners on entering the Soviet market.

Local computer networks are a totally virgin area for us. Few people in the world require individual computers, and their chief value consists in plugging them in to an overall information network. Such a thing hardly exists in the USSR. Here hopes are pinned on the involvement in the joint venture of the daughter enterprises of Novell (Britain), the world's largest firm in this area. In addition, the founders include the "Nauka" Publishing House, the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for the Automation of Management in the Nonindustrial Sphere, the "Pronto" Engineering Cooperative Center, a group of Scandinavian firms seeking an outlet to the Soviet market, and the Japanese firm of Sindzidavsya [name as transliterated], which has already supplied the USSR with 35,000 personal computers for schools. [Passage omitted]

International Psychiatry Symposium Ends

LD0510215389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1200 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Leningad, 5 Oct (TASS)—TASS correspondent Irina Zolotareva reports:

"We regard the meeting in Leningrad as the pledge of restoration of long-term cooperation with our Soviet colleagues." This is how the results of the 2-day International Psychiatry Symposium were assessed by the president of the World Association of Psycho-Social Rehabilitation, Oliver Wilson. He was speaking today at the close of a representative scientific forum on social psychiatry held in Moscow, in which specialists from 20 countries took part.

Oliver Wilson stressed that the heated disputes that quite often arose in the course of the discussion merely confirmed that the world's psychiatrists are agitated by the same problems: Protection of patients' rights, and the involvement of members of their families, neighbours and colleagues. There is no fundamental difference in diagnostic methods. "We have been able," he said, "to study documents, and many matters served up in the Western press as abuses of psychiatry associated with human rights violations in the USSR have not been confirmed."

Foreign participants in the meeting spoke highly of the reforms that are being effected in Soviet psychiatry. These consist above all in trying to avoid isolating patients in medical institutions on a round-the-clock basis, transferring them to a freer regime, and maximal use of ambulatory methods of teatment. On behalf of the organizing committee, the president of the World Congress of Psychiatry, which is to be held in Washington in a year's time, Eliot Sorel, invited the Soviet specialists to take an active part in it. He noted that only dialogue can overcome confrontation.

Protocols to 1949 Geneva Convention Deposited

LD0410042589 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—The instrument of ratification by the Soviet Union of additional protocols to the 1949 Geneva Conventions on the protection of war victims was deposited with the Federal council (government) of the Swiss Confederation, on September 29, a TASS correspondent was told today.

The protocols were ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet on August 4, 1989.

United States & Canada

Further Reportage on Yazov's Official U.S. Visit

Yazov Visits Air Force Bases, Sees B-1

LD0610093189 Moscow TASS in English 0900 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Fort Bragg (North Carolina) October 6 TASS—A Soviet military delegation led by Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, on an official visit to the United States, arrived at Luke Air Force Base, Arizona, on Thursday from San Diego, California, where the command of the U.S. Pacific Fleet is based.

The Soviet delegation was welcomed by Lieutenant-General Peter Kempf, commander of the U.S. Air Force in Arizona, and Brigadier-General Daniel Sherlock, commander of the 832nd Air Division.

Addressing the Soviet guests, they expressed hope that their visit would be a new step towards strengthening mutual understanding and trust between the United States and the USSR in the military field.

Yazov observed an aerobatics show put on by the Air Force Thunderbirds and inspected military aircraft, including a B-1 bomber and F-15 fighters. The Soviet minister was accompanied by Air Force Lieutenant-General Robert Harris, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Soviet Ambassador Yuriy Dubinin.

Yazov arrived at Pope Air Force Base, North Carolina, on Thursday afternoon. He was welcomed by Lieutenant-General Karl Styner, commander of the 18th Airborne Corps. A reception was given at the Fort Bragg Officers' Club in honour of the Soviet delegation, where Yazov and Styner exchanged speeches.

The Soviet delegation returns to Washington today where the Soviet defence minister and U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney will hold a joint news conference.

Yazov Shown at San Diego Base

LD0510231189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Army General Yazov, USSR minister of defense, is continuing his official visit to the United States. Our correspondents report form San Diego: [Correspondents B. Kalyagin, S. Cherkasov, over video of U.S. Marines and Air Force carrying out landing assault operation, watched by official delegations]

[Kalyagin] U.S. Marines are storming a bridgehead on the Pacific Ocean coast. Aviation and helicopters, light tanks and artillery are taking part in the landing operation. These are not shots from a military newsreel: The special exercises are being conducted at the Pendleton U.S. Marines' Base, near the town of San Diego, to mark the arrival there of Army General Yazov, the USSR minister of defense. The U.S. military decided to demonstrate the entire range of technical means used in carrying out operations by the Marines. Amphibious craft [video shows amphibious craft], each of these machines is capable of transporting 25 assault landing troops over sea and dry land at a speed of 40 knots; hovercraft deliver military equipment, including tanks and marine infantry combat vehicles; active use is made of helicopters, both for transporting Marines to the combat zone and for evacuating them from the battle field.

This is the first time that Soviet military leaders have visited a major U.S. base on the Pacific coast, and certainly the first time they have observed maneuvers here. [Kalyagin, to camera, standing in front of military vehicle and U.S. Marines] Much that is happening during this visit is for the first time. The Americans are showing us and allowing us to film much that was for us previously top secret and high security in the United States. This is, of course, evidence of the increase in confidence, evidence of the fact that qualitative changes for the better are taking place in Soviet-U.S. relations. [Kalyagin continues, over video of Yazov inspecting and being presented to Marines] The operation is over. Army General Yazov is making the acquaintance of the Marines who took part in it, asking the soldiers whether they like doing military service and whether they found it difficult in the training combat:

[Begin Yazov recording] In my view, the exercises were extremely cleverly and instructively organized. I should like to wish the commander directing these exercises and all the Marines good health. [video shows Yazov speaking to assembled officers] [end recording]

[Kalyagin, over video of Marines and commander] And what impression did the U.S. hosts get? Major General (John Monahan), commander of the U.S. Marines' First Division, directed the exercises:

[Begin Monahan recording in English with superimposed Russian translation] I was most impressed by General Yazov, the defense minister. It is immediately obvious that he is a real soldier. He asked the young Marines the questions that only a professional soldier knows how to ask. I think this is a very good meeting and I hope that it is the first of many others. [end recording]

[Kalyagin, over video of Yazov delegation inspecting aircraft at U.S. air base] The USSR minister of defense began his stay in San Diego by visiting the North Island Naval Air Base. He was accompanied by Admiral Jeremiah, commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet. The high-ranking Soviet guest was shown models of the aircraft which are based on warships. These include the latest models, the Seahawk helicopter, for example which is designed for reconnaissance operations and antisubmarine actions. [video shows Yazov delegation on board ship]

Army General Yazov went on board the "Belleau Wood" landing vessel, which has a water displacement of 40,000 tonnes; 32 combat machines can be accommodated on the deck of this ship at the same time. [video shows U.S. servicemen taking photographs, press photographers]

The Soviet minister's visit to the military base aroused a great deal of interest both on the part of the U.S. press and U.S. soldiers and officers. For the overwhelming majority of them, it was the first time they had seen representatives of the Soviet country. [video shows Yazov shaking hands with hosts] The meeting was conducted in an atmosphere of goodwill. The general opinion of both the Soviet and the U.S. military was that such contacts are necessary and useful.

Bush, Crowe Cited on Value of Military Contacts

PM05101329B9 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Ceremony in Annapolis"]

[Text] Washington, 30 Sep—"The ice in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union has broken thanks to the reciprocal visits by U.S. and Soviet military leaders," President G. Bush declared at a ceremony to mark the retirement of Admiral W. Crowe as chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. In the course of his speech, he made a positive appraisal of the exchange of friendly visits between the U.S. and USSR Navies.

During the retirement ceremony held in the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, Friday [29 September], W. Crowe noted in particular the great importance of the forthcoming official visit to the United States by Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense. Contacts along military lines, the admiral said, are valuable for "improving contacts" and conducting mutual debates between the two countries. These contacts also help to improve mutual understanding. This does not mean that differences between our countries will be resolved at once, but these contacts are "part of the broader process of improving our relations." The U.S. President also strives for the same goal, Crowe noted.

The expansion of contacts along military lines, Crowe went on, makes it possible "to significantly reduce the risk of war." He also emphasized that his recent trip to the USSR and last year's visit to the United States by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev helped to "reduce confrontation with the Soviet Union" and to "diminish hostility between the two superpowers."

U.S. Cited on Denials of Panama Coup Involvement

PM05101410B9 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading "Coup Attempt Foiled"]

[Text] Washington, 4 Oct—U.S. President George Bush has stated that the United States was not involved in the attempted coup in Panama. In a brief address to journalists at the White House he noted that the situation in the Panamanian capital remains uncertain. G. Bush stressed that the administration is monitoring the development of events most carefully.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker avoided giving a direct answer to a question on whether the United States helped the military who came out against General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the National Defense Forces. "The United States did not initiate what happened," he told journalists at the State Department. J. Baker set forth the U.S. position on Panama, stating that if Noriega leaves power this will soon lead to the restoration of normal relations between the two countries.

THE NEW YORK TIMES notes that the United States was forewarned of the preparations for a putsch in Panama, but Washington refrained from giving the rebels any help.

Denying U.S. involvement in events in Panama, White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater nonetheless admitted in an interview with journalists that American helicopters were over the districts of the Panamanian capital in which events took place, while American servicemen were guarding one road.

A few hours earlier, Fitzwater reported that in recent days there had been rumors of possible actions against Noriega—a coup or uprising, and this was known to official U.S. representatives.

Bush Denial Not 'Very Convincing'

PM05101426B9 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Linnik report: "Not Very Convincing..."]

[Text] Washington, 4 Oct—Recent events have again drawn the attention of the mass media to the role the United States has long been playing in destabilizing the government of Panama. The question of whether the United States was involved in the attempted military coup in Panama is being discussed here openly in the press and on radio and television. CNN television reported that the Washington administration knew about the forthcoming action by the military against M. Noriega, commander in chief of the National Defense Forces, at least 2 days before it happened. And some of the most conservative members of the American Congress, in particular Senator D. Boren from Oklahoma, have criticized the administration for "not taking advantage of the attempted coup to get rid of Noriega."

President Bush naturally refuted any U.S. involvement in the attempted coup in Panama. It cannot be said that his statement sounded very convincing.

U.S. Seen as Panama's 'Insatiable' Neighbor

18070364 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 28 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by Grigoriy Oganov, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA political columnist: "Panama: Target for the 'Big Stick'"]

[Text] The conflict between the opposition and national patriotic forces that adhere to the spirit of the Panama-American agreement on the future development of mutual relations between Panama and the United States, an agreement reached at the end of the 1970's during the time of General Omar Torrijos, is flaring up more and more and is assuming somewhat of a chronic form.

The opposition is coming out more frequently as an obstructionist force that is blocking any possibility of a peaceful elimination of the conflict in which the United States is playing the principal "firebrand" role. It is evident that in the present situation, as in many similar situations, the Washington administration is placing its main political emphasis on the so-called "contras" who do not want to fall back one step from their ambitious positions that in the final analysis reflect the class interests of a very small segment of the local population, principally of wealthy people who for many years determined the political line of measures undertaken in the country.

It is specifically to these people, the egoistic local oligarchy, that Panama is "obligated" by an unequal treaty with the United States which turned over to the insatiable northern neighbor rights over the control of the Panama Canal and the disposition of all profits that the board of directors of the canal derives from its operation. It is on this "point" that the differences between the giant, the United States, and the miniature Central American Republic of Panama are concentrated. And this is the real reason for the inflamed conflict, which at times assumes the most threatening and violent confrontational forms.

What is the problem? It is first and foremost that the United States wants at all costs to avoid fulfillment of the conditions of the Torrijos-Carter agreements signed by it in 1977, according to which the United States is obligated by the end of the century to dismantle its military bases, which were liberally deployed in the Canal Zone, and to transfer the Panama Canal to the complete jurisdiction of the republic. It is this source of income that North American moneybags are strongly averse to losing. Not to mention the strategic significance of this very important water artery—over which the Pentagon is extremely disturbed.

After the recent elections, the new leaders of Panama meanwhile displayed a firmness in the conduct of their own political line for the independence of the country, nationalization of the canal, and socio-economic measures in the interests of the people. The specific directions of the activity of the new government should be, as was declared by officials of the Panama leadership, the consolidation of all patriotic forces, a search for mutually acceptable compromise resolutions for the purpose of overcoming the crisis, and stabilization of the internal political situation in the country.

As Ruben Dario Sousa, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Panama, said in an interview with a Soviet correspondent, it is necessary to overcome the unpredictability of internal political development in the country and to steadfastly continue an effective struggle for the attainment of genuine national sovereignty, territorial integrity, assurance of the right to self-determination, and recognition of the unacceptability of interference by a foreign power in the internal affairs of Panama.

And for this, added General Manuel Noriega, commander in chief of the Panamanian National Defense Forces, in an interview with a journalist from DIALOGO SOCIAL, there is a need for normalization and subsequent improvement in relations with the United States, which will become possible only after Washington rejects military, economic, and financial blackmail. The only thing that the republic is trying to get from the United States, he said, is respect for the right to an independent choice of form of development.

This is the natural and just point of view of the Panamanian leaders for the future of Panamanian-American relations and for the future of their country.

However, Washington views the behavior of Panama in a totally different way. There they have begun to suspect the treaty signed by President Torrijos and President Carter in 1977. The voluntary renunciation of property of a military and strategic character, of "rights" to the canal, and granting Panama full sovereignty was considered absolutely unacceptable under Reagan. This is precisely a case when even the signature of their own president does not mean anything in the eyes of of the real rulers of the United States. As in the distant past, however, not that long ago, businessmen-monopolists of the northern superpower see Panama only as a small "banana republic," and they are reckoning on unquestioning obedience of its authorities.

The people of Panama, nonetheless, did not demonstrate such servility; they are fully determined to defend the honor and independence of their country. Moreover, Panama "wronged" the United States after refusing to make its territory available as a bridgehead for aggression against Nicaragua. Then the knights of "the big stick" simply decided to overthrow the hated government of the disobedient republic and its military leadership.

The United States particularly has accumulated a lot of "experience" in this kind of violence. You see, Panama is not the first target for the politicians of the "big stick...."

Dubinin Receives Peace Award for Gorbachev

PM0610104889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unnamed own correspondent report: "High Assessment"]

[Text] New York, 4 Oct—A ceremony to honor the winners of prizes awarded by the international humanitarian organization "Society for a Better World" was held yesterday at one of New York's oldest fashionable hotels, the Waldorf Astoria. The 1989 special medal for efforts in the cause of peace and arms reduction was awarded to M.S. Gorbachev. A commemorative bronze medal was presented to Yu.V. Dubinin, USSR ambassador to the United States.

The materials distributed to journalists scrupulously enumerate those aspects of the Soviet leader's foreign policy activity that, in the society's opinion, have won him well-deserved popularity throughout the world. They include efforts aimed at the banning of nuclear weapons tests, the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the improvement of relations with China, the settlement of regional conflicts in Africa and Southeast Asia, and the enhancement of the role of UN peacekeeping forces. A message sent to M.S. Gorbachev by the society on the award of the medal to him notes: "We would like to express gratitude for your personal contribution to the numerous peace initiatives of the Soviet Government. Our society values highly the work you have begun, and calls on you to augment efforts to persuade other governments to join with the Soviet Union in creating lasting peace on earth."

USIA's Gelb Views Changes in Soviet Media

18070368 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 39, 30 Sep-6 Oct 89 p 4

[Report on interview with USIA Director Bruce Gelb, by Yu. Sigov: "First-Hand Information on USIA"; place, date not specified]

[Text]**On 1 August 1953, at the very height of the Cold War, the United States Information Agency (USIA) was created; its goal was the formation an image of a "flourishing America" beyond its borders. Over the course of many years, USIA invariably evoked the criticism of our mass information media, and those Soviet citizens who listened to the "Voice of America" broadcasts were automatically considered to be of the "unreliable" class. But times are changing, and now the new USIA Director, 62-year-old American businessman Bruce Gelb, is our country's guest.**

[Sigov] USIA is one of the world's largest information departments. In your view, what are the distinctions between the propaganda methods used by the United States and the Soviet Union?

[Gelb] In general, I do not like to say the word "propaganda"; it only frightens people, and makes them antagonistic toward any information, even the most objective. The task of USIA is not to "propagandize" the American way of life, but to give a balanced assessment of the events occurring in the United States.

As far as the distinctions between the U.S. and the USSR information presentation are concerned, your press, radio, and television have come to more closely resemble the American media, that is, they reflect reality more truthfully. Unfortunately, this is not occurring all the time, since the Soviet Union's mass information media are under strict government control. It is your government which determines when, how, and in what format to inform the Soviet people about this or that fact. I can cite as an example the way your mass information media reflected (or to be precise, did not reflect) the events in China this summer, and how the Western media did this.

[Sigov] It is hardly possible to agree with your assertion that in the USSR, in this era of perestroyka, the mass information media are under "total government control." We will not forget that your agency is a government department, and freedom is a relative concept at USIA...

[Gelb] Only our budget allocation depends upon the U.S. Government—for this year, USIA's budget was $872 million, including the "Voice of America" broadcasts, student and teacher exchange programs, scientific publications, etc. Having allocated the funds, the government does not meddle in our activities any further.

[Sigov] But it is well known that your "Voice of America" has the rubric "viewpoint of the U.S. Government." As they say, he who pays the piper calls the tune.

And how do you regard the fact that certain Soviet citizens depart for permanent residence in the United States under the influence of the information about America disseminated by USIA? To put it mildly, this is strange support of "Gorbachev's course" on your part...

[Gelb] First off, I want to emphasize that despite the difficulties now experienced by the USSR, the majority of Soviet citizens are not at all planning to depart for permanent residence in the United States. They want to live at home and bring it into order. After all, they have no need to abandon the Soviet Union in order to allocate goods correctly and enjoy the fruits of their labor wisely (and Russians are no less capable of work than Americans). Of course, you have people who wish to move to permanent residence in the United States, but after all, there were people like that in Russia 200 years ago, too.

[Sigov] And how do you assess the work of the Soviet information agencies abroad; do Americans believe them?

[Gelb] As far as your mass information media are concerned, especially the NOVOSTI Press Agency, which has been "working over" the American public,

their activity is too politicized, and it depends upon government "orders." The average U.S. resident views this as "communist agitation," although without a doubt it has recently become more open and self-critical. After all, you now have pluralism everywhere, including within the mass information media...

[Sigov] And how does the matter of pluralism stand with USIA? For example, when was the last time American Communists appeared in the "Voice of America" programs?

[Gelb] Somehow I do not recall, but there is no need for this. I guarantee that communists' speeches do not arouse the interest of the majority of average Americans. So here we must be grounded not in pluralism, but in reality.

[Sigov] Judging by your magazines for "export," television and radio programs, USIA's main task is advertising America like goods. But why do you do this so persistently? After all, the "American way of life" already enjoys a high "demand"...

[Gelb] There is a piece of Eastern wisdom which states: If you say something once, you will be heard and forgotten, but if you repeat what you say, you will be heard and believed. When a person is constantly being told about some place on earth (and this need not be the United States) where the living is good, where there is freedom to work or to do nothing, he begins to believe in this image.

Under current conditions, USIA sets as its goal the dispersion of the image of movie- and TV-America abroad. We want to depict the life of typical, average Americans, who can achieve success in life even without influential ties.

[Sigov] I am curious as to how you came into such a prestigious position as USIA director. After all, you cannot get a position like that in the U.S. Administration by work alone; at the very least, someone "at the very top" was obliging...

[Gelb] I make no secret of the fact that the proposal to take the position of USIA director came from U.S. President G. Bush himself; I met him in school, when I was 14 years old. Since President Roosevelt's day, it has been the practice to name to ministerial and ambassadorial posts those who actively supported (first and foremost, financially) the chief of state in the election campaign. The majority of representatives of the current administration are personal friends of G. Bush, or people whose work he had the opportunity to observe over an extended period.

I have been involved in the business of the mass information media sphere for over 30 years, and I know American radio and television very well. In accepting G. Bush's proposal to head USIA, I lost a significant amount of income (I now get $79,000, which is about a congressman's salary), but on the other hand, I have taken on very interesting work. Obviously, I will not return to private business, and since judging by appearances, the need for USIA's activity will remain for a long time, I will hardly be bored in the future.

KGB Veteran on Anti-Terrorism Talks With CIA

PM051011289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent A. Shalnev: "Fighting Terrorism Together"]

[Text] New York—I opened the paper and could not believe my eyes. I read: "...proposals have been put forward on cooperation between the CIA and the KGB."

I phoned the source of the report published in THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper: Santa Monica, California.

"Is it true that such proposals have been made?" I asked Fedor Alekseyevich Shcherbak.

"Yes," he confirmed.

Fedor Alekseyevich Shcherbak is a retired lieutenant general. But it is not the rank that is the sensation. It is the post, albeit former post. General Shcherbak used to be head of a KGB component. He was introduced as such at a meeting held in Santa Monica by the Soviet-American society to combat terrorism. Shcherbak's colleage Valentin Zvezdenkov—retired major general and former chief of the same KGB department, who is working in the sphere of combating terrorism—was also introduced in "full marching order."

There were some big noises on the U.S. side, too—former CIA director William Colby and former CIA deputy director Ray Cline. Not to mention former senior National Security Council aides, such as J. Kemp.

An unprecedented situation, you will agree: Senior KGB aides, albeit former ones, coming to the United States without concealing their identity, actually as former senior State Security Committee aides, in fact.

[Shalnev] "Fedor Alekseyevich, when you explained who you were to American strangers approaching you, for example, on the street or in the lobby of the hotel where the Soviet group was staying, what was the reaction?"

[Shcherbak] "Absolute amazement. Then they ask: Would this have been possible even two or three years ago?"

The Soviet-American Society is an organization that was set up approximately one year ago. It held its first meeting in Moscow, last January. This is the second. The society's members include writers, academics, journalists, former "specialists," to use F. Shcherbak's term, and staff from U.S. and Soviet law centers. The aim is to find a common approach that will enable both sides, the Soviet Union and the United States, to tackle the

problem of combating terrorism as a joint problem and not as a problem that divides our two countries.

The Santa Monica meeting ended with its participants having elaborated approximately 30 recommendations which will soon be submitted to USSR and U.S. state and government organs. They are recommendations on organizing bilateral cooperation in combating terrorism.

They include, of course, recommendations envisaging coordination between Soviet and U.S. intelligence departments.

[Shalnev] "This prompts the following question, Fedor Alekseyevich: Did you have contacts not with former but with current CIA staffers?"

[Shcherbak] "No. The U.S. side did not suggest that, and neither did we."

[Shalnev] "But would such contacts be required?"

"I think they would be useful," F. Shcherbak replied.

I would add that, if it gets to the point where the recommendations are implemented, there is clearly no way these contacts can be avoided.

One of the recommendations is as follows: Conduct a kind of operational game in 1990 that will involve halting a terrorist act. A scenario will be worked out, a scenario instruction, as General Shcherbak put it, will be given, and...

[Shalnev] "Where will the experiment take place?"

[Shcherbak] "On our territory and on U.S. territory."

I was told at the U.S. "Search For Commom Ground" organization, which is one of the sponsors of the society to combat terrorism, that the experiment presupposes the involvement of senior officials—both former and, especially, current. People representing departments that are in the forefront of the fight against terrorism. The purpose of the experiment is to simulate joint action against a terrorist assault.

The meeting paid considerable attention to ways of cooperating in the matter of freeing hostages. The society recommended, among other things, arranging a regular exchange of information "on Soviet and U.S. citizens held against their will." It also recommended concluding a U.S.-Soviet agreement on the handover of terrorist criminals.

Another recommendation that attracted special attention is that the USSR and U.S. governments should not supply "nongovernment groups with weapons that could be used by terrorists."

Incidentally, I wondered whether the Soviet and U.S. participants in the meetings had succeeded in overcoming the age-old disagreements about whom to regard as a terrorist. Judging by what General Fedor Shcherbak told me, the different assessments and descriptions remain. But, clearly, this is where the expert lawyers come in—those who are members of the society and can assist the elaboration of acceptable legal criteria. My final question was:

"Were you satisfied with the meeting, Fedor Alekseyevich?"

"Yes."

Northeast Asia

First Troop Withdrawals From MPR Complete

LD0510104289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1016 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 5 Oct (TASS)—The first stage of the withdrawal of Soviet military units from Mongolian territory has been completed, Major-General L. Mayorov, commander of Soviet troops temporarily deployed on the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] said here at a press conference. Three divisions, including two tank and one air, have been withdrawn. Thus, the task of the governments of the USSR and the MPR has been fulfilled completely.

The Mongolian side has been handed 52 military townships, comprising hundreds of homes and barracks, scores of clubs, garrison officers' residences, 15 medical establishments, 5 high schools, and 3 domestic services complexes.

The troops have now started implementing measures connected with the second stage of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, which is planned for next year.

DPRK Leader Thanks Gorbachev for Greetings

PM0510094989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[Undated message from Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee and president of the DPRK, "to Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] I express to the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium profound gratitude for the cordial congratulations and wishes sent on the 41st anniversary of the DPRK's formation.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium gave a high assessment of our people's successes in socialist building and expressed support for the peace-loving initiatives and proposals of our party and the republic's government aimed at the removal of foreign troops from South Korea, the transformation of the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone, and the realization of the country's peaceful unification, which is a great inspiration to our people.

I should like to take this opportunity to express confidence that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our two parties, countries, and peoples based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism will continue to strengthen and develop uninterruptedly.

[Signed] Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee and president of the DPRK

Near East & South Asia

Commentary Welcomes Peres Visit to Moscow

TA0510204089 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1600 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The presidium of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace convened on 3 October. The presidium discussed the invitation extended to Israeli Vice Prime Minister and Finance Minister Shim'on Peres to visit the Soviet Union. Genrikh Borovik, the committee's chairman, submitted a report on his trip to the United States and his meeting with Mr Peres in New York. Borovik said that Peres had suggested during their meeting that he be invited to visit the USSR to meet businessmen and discuss the furthering of economic relations between Israel and the USSR. Genrikh Borovik answered that the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace would be willing to invite him to Moscow. During the presidium's session it was decided to send Mr Peres a letter inviting him to visit the Soviet Union as the guest of this public organization.

We believe this is a very important initiative. In light of the fact that there are no diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel, the visit of the Israeli vice prime minister to Moscow may be considered an important event and constitute a major contribution to normalizing relations between the two countries. This will prove that the Soviet Union harbors no hostility toward Israel and the Israeli people, and that it firmly supports the existence of the Jewish state as an independent and sovereign country enjoying good-neighborly relations with the surrounding countries. It is good that Soviet public organizations are participating more and more in building up relations with Israel. When official diplomacy is unsuccessful in furthering matters, it is time for popular diplomacy—diplomacy by the people—and this is very important.

By the way, our radio station is also taking part in this activity. For example, when a delegation of Israeli journalists visited Moscow they were invited to tour our station, and a very friendly and constructive discussion developed. [Words indistinct] can contribute positively to the advancement of peace in the Middle East and the improvement of political relations between the Soviet Union and Israel.

There is an additional aspect to Shim'on Peres' anticipated visit. When he arrives in Moscow as the guest of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, he will have the opportunity to meet not only public personages and businessmen, but will probably hold official meetings at the political level. When asked in New York if he would be willing to meet Shim'on Peres, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said that he had already met him more than once, and that if Peres visits the USSR, the two men could meet.

Finally, our radio station, which broadcasts on behalf of Soviet public organizations, welcomes the initiative by the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace to invite Shim'on Peres to the Soviet Union. We hope that his trip to Moscow will be successful and that it will further the normalization of relations between our two countries.

Najibullah Ignores Demands To Step Down

LD0510115789 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Islamabad October 5 TASS—"I shall not yield to demands from Washington and Islamabad to step down," President Najibullah of Afghanistan said.

"The United States and Pakistan should heed the realities in Afghanistan, recognise the strength of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and conduct peace negotiations with it," Najibullah said in an interview with the Pakistani newspaper NATION.

There have been no radical changes in the policy of the United States which seeks a military solution of the Afghan problem, Najibullah stressed. He approved the recent Soviet-American statement calling for national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

The Afghan leader strongly criticised the Pakistani Government's policy, saying that it is aimed at continuing the war in Afghanistan. The president reaffirmed his determination to work for a political settlement for Afghanistan to become a demilitarised state, provided international guarantees for its permanent neutrality.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is ready to discuss any peace proposals but it is not going to waive its growing military and political strength in exchange for minor concessions, Najibullah stressed.

Commenting on Western and Pakistani special services' projected dates for "downfall of the Kabul regime", Najibullah said: "The West gave us hours for survival, then days and weeks and now mentions 'seasons of hostilities', but it should draw a lesson from the past."

Asked about differences within the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the president said that the party was now more united than before, and stressed that differences in its ranks concern tactical matters and are between individuals. "Rivalry inside the party is to a greater or lesser extent a matter of the past," he said.

Najibullah reiterated his proposals for ending the war in Afghanistan, namely direct negotiations between the Afghan Government and the rebels, convocation of a national peace conference with the participation of all Afghan groups, a six-month ceasefire and formation of a coalition government.

The president called for a Loya Jirgah [Grand Assembly] to be held to accept Afghanistan's new Constitution and a law on general elections that could be held under international control.

The international conference on the Afghan problem should proclaim Afghanistan a neutral state, and a regional conference to be attended by countries, neighbouring on Afghanisan, could solve the other questions to eliminate tension, he said.

Former King Zahir Shah can play a positive role in a peace settlement, the president stressed.

Afghan Foreign Minister Departs After Stopover

LD0610091989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0827 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 6 Oct (TASS) 'Abdul Wakil, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, who was here en route from New York where he took part in the work of the 44th session of the UN General Assembly, left Moscow for Kabul today.

At the airport he was seen off by Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister.

Envoy on Talks With Mujahidin To Release POWs

PM0510143189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Talks With Mujahidin Leaders"]

[Text] Islamabad, 3 Oct—The public delegation from the "Hope" people's committee to save Soviet prisoners-of-war in Afghanistan is now into its 4th week of work in Pakistan aimed at accelerating the release of Soviet servicemen who are still held prisoner by the Afghan mujahidin. In the past 10 days the delegation has had three rounds of talks in the city of Peshawar, near the Pakistani-Afghan border, with representatives of the Peshawar leadership of the Afghan mujahidin. At the meetings there was a discussion of the elaboration of practical conditions for the release of the first group of Soviet prisoners.

It is the second attempt by the delegates of our committee to reach agreement here with the mujahidin leaders on the release of Soviet soldiers captured by them, Iona Andronov, chairman of the "Hope" people's committee, told a TASS correspondent. Last summer our first attempt did not produce any real result, however it did reveal the mujahidin's intentions vis-a-vis the prisoners and helped to set in motion the second stage of the talks. The main advance so far is that the leaders of the Afghan mujahidin have finally agreed to release the first group of our soldiers, although they made it dependent on a number of counterdemands. We had tried to meet the previous demands, but this is no longer enough. So the difficult work is continuing in order to work out a forumula for the speediest release of the first group of our prisoners-of-war that will be acceptable to both sides. I want to assure their families at home that we are making every effort here, with effective support from the diplomats of the USSR embassy in Pakistan. We are also gettimg important assistance from the Pakistani Foreign Ministry. I want to take this opportunity of thanking the Soviet Peace Foundation for funding our activities here.

The "Hope" delegation, plying between Islamabad and Peshawar, is currently continuing talks with the mujahidin to bring our compatriots home as soon as possible.

Afghan Forces in 'Dynamic Equilibrium'

18070367 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 39, 30 Sep-6 Oct 89 pp 4-5

[Report on interview with Major General K. Tsagolov, professor, doctor of philosophical sciences, by N. Topuridze: "The Politicians Lost the War"; place and occasion not specified]

[Text] *Our correspondent N. Topuridze's conversation with Major General K. Tsagolov, professor, doctor of philosophical sciences.*

[Topuridze] Kim Makedonovich, at the 1st Congress of People's Deputies it was demanded repeatedly that a clearcut evaluation be given to the "Afghan events." But so far the leaders of the appropriate departments have been in no hurry to respond to the specific questions that were raised and have limited themselves to general statements.

[Tsagolov] Indeed the time has come to figure out what kind of a revolution took place in Afghanistan, how we ended up there, what we did there, and what kind of assistance we rendered. It is very fashionable to give simple answers now. But such a complex problem as the war in Afghanistan must be considered in the context of the time and the actual political situation, taking the international and domestic situation into account.

Based on the "revolutionary" declarations of individual Afghan leaders, we declared the April 1978 events to be a revolution. I am convinced that there was an armed uprising in Afghanistan which could have grown into a revolution, but incorrect steps on the part of the leadership at the time pushed it away from the masses. A political act of seizing power with new forces cannot be considered a revolution. (I analyzed this question in detail in a long article which will come out in one of the first issues of the magazine NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in 1990).

When sending troops into Afghanistan we were not properly aware of the situation in this country, the

alignment of opposing forces, or the underestimation of the role of religion and traditional authority in Afghan society. As a result the overall evaluation of the situation was not objective and, consequently, the decisions were also incorrect.

[Topuridze] At the Congress of People's Deputies they mentioned the letter of instruction from the CPSU Central Committee which reflected the viewpoint of the leadership concerning the "Afghan events." Could you comment on this?

[Tsagolov] This letter is a good basis for a further, deeper analysis of the problem. But, unfortunately, it is now being conducted on a departmental basis: The Ministry of Defense has its own analysis, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has its own, and so forth. Corporate patriotism leads to a one-sided view of the problem. We need answers not from the various departments but concerning the essence, the whole. I think that the USSR Supreme Soviet should form its own nondepartmental commission which would carefully analyze the entire chain of events and give objective answers to all questions without exception.

[Topuridze] As we know, Academician A. Sakharov made serious accusations against the Soviet command. They had to do with our special forces units shooting their own men. This aroused a storm of passions at the congress. Is there any truth to this?

[Tsagolov] I have a great deal of respect for A. Sakharov and admire his civic positions. But in this case I do not think that he thought his statement through. It seems to me that it was based on various rumors. Any eye witness to the events would confirm that our command took desperate measures to save those who had fallen around them.

[Topuridze] Even at the beginning of perestroyka, in a well-known statement from the deputy procurator general at a meeting of the aktiv of the Moscow Committee of CPSU, cases of monstrous corruption in the ranks of the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan were mentioned. The text of this statement "passed through hands" for several years. What can you say about this?

[Tsagolov] On the whole the Army is a copy of the society. New cases of corruption like a fatal cancer that is eating away the country are now becoming known. But the degree of society's corruption in this case cannot be proportionally transferred to a limited contingent of Soviet troops because morally it was on a much higher level than the society.

[Topuridze] What is the real reason for the overall ineffectiveness of the actions of our forces in Afghanistan?

[Tsagolov] It had nothing to do with the military. I daresay that our soldiers and military leaders won the majority of large battles. The war was lost by politicians.

[Topuridze] Here to some degree one sees the analogy with the war in Vietnam...

[Tsagolov] In the sense that the United States lost the war perhaps because of politics.

[Topuridze] It is no secret that some of our troops abused drugs. How widespread was this phenomenon?

[Tsagolov] There actually were cases in which some of our boys got hooked on narcotics. But we are speaking more about individual cases than a phenomenon.

[Topuridze] Do you not think that this war morally "crippled" the soldiers?

[Tsagolov] This war has cost us a great deal. There is practically not a single person who returned from Afghanistan unharmed. All the troops without exception sustained psychological trauma. Therefore, I think that mercy must be shown not only to those who received physical injuries. We must cure everyone who was there.

[Topuridze] As far as I know there were frequent cases of psychological illness among our international troops?

[Topuridze] Yes, the medical experts can confirm this... War is a colossal experience. Not all the troops had the same mental stability.

[Topuridze] How do you explain the deterioration of relations between the Afghans and the Soviet Army at the end of the war as compared to the beginning?

[Tsagolov] They deteriorated as the war went on. If there is no rapid victory this means that there is no rapid peace. And the Afghans need peace. The powerful, total propaganda of the opposition had an effect. It created the image of the soldier who had come armed to a foreign country. Why do we think that we are the only ones who typically say: "He who comes bearing a sword will die by the sword."

The decision to withdraw our troops was a manifestation of a great deal of civic courage both on our part and on the part of the Afghan leadership. This is what our previous leaders did not have enough of.

[Topuridze] Who bears the greatest responsibility for the fact that the country was drawn into the Afghan adventure?

[Tsagolov] If one is to speak of the "higher echelon," it was Brezhnev as the general political leader, Gromyko as the leader of the foreign political department, Ustinov as the leader of the Ministry of Defense, and Andropov as the leader of the KGB. But others bear no less responsibility. Today many people are saying that they were against it. But it is one thing to say this in a circle of friends and another to declare it officially and, as a sign of disagreement, to apply for retirement. That would be a manifestation of adherence to party principles and civic courage.

[Topuridze] How would you characterize the situation in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops?

[Tsagolov] As a dynamic balance. At the present time neither of the sides has obvious superiority.

[Topuridze] When we withdrew our troops many political scientists, including Soviet, were convinced that the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] would not stay in power long...

[Tsagolov] They were able to join together in the face of the general danger. Two factions of the PDPA, "Parcham" and "Khalk," which, it must be admitted, were constantly squabbling, were very much aware of what a victory of the opposition would mean. The situation itself forced them to mobilize and stepped up the centripetal tendencies in the party. Now the Afghan leadership adheres to an extremely flexible tactical line in its relations with the opposition. It is departing from the utopian views it held in the early stages of the Afghan epic.

[Topuridze] What are the prospects for the regulation of the fratricidal conflict in Afghanistan?

[Tsagolov] I do not see any solution other than a political one. Official Kabul is ready for this. It is now up to the opposition. In its camp there are now forces, and significant ones, who understand that it is senseless to continue the war. It seems to me that time and the development of the situation are working precisely for a political dialogue. How, specifically, the negotiations will go is another question. Naturally, such a dialog presupposes mutual concessions.

[Topuridze] Does this mean you think that in the foreseeable future it will be possible to have positive contacts between the opposition and official Kabul?

[Tsagolov] I have always thought that. Both the first and the second times I was in Afghanistan my work was devoted precisely to this. I repeatedly participated in negotiations with leaders of the armed detachments. There are thinking people among them as well.

[Topuridze] Kim Makedonovich, have you ever felt any pressure of any kind after your statements in the press?

[Tsagolov] I would be going against my conscience if I were to answer in the negative. It is also our problem when a conflict of ideas is transformed into a conflict of people. Unfortunately, we have not yet learned the art of dialogue and we internally resist pluralism of opinions.

Coverage, Effects of Afghan War Viewed

LD0510155489 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 5 Oct 89

[From the "Inside Report" program]

[Text] [Announcer] This country has been undergoing major changes. In order to get a better idea of what to change and how, we should, in the first place, have a clear idea of what has been done wrong, of what we've been doing wrong, or what sort of lessons we can draw from past experiences. The Afghan war has been a stern lesson in many ways. For a discussion of this topic, I'm joined in the studio by Sara Kamenshchikova and (Dmitriy Volkov).

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Affghanistan in February this year was hailed internationally, but perhaps particularly so in this country. It stands to reason that even in Afghanistan there may have been differing opinions on this score, but in this country all were sincerely unanimous in giving their support to this decision.

The top Soviet leadership has not to this day given an official evaluation of the war, or of the Soviet involvement in it, and though the decision to pull out was in itself an eloquent evaluation, what we have to say on this program will not necessarily reflect an official point of view. First, in summing up the lessons of the Afghan war, we have to go back to when the decision to intervene was taken by the then-Soviet leadership. (Dmitriy Volkov):

[(Volkov)] Afghanistan has already been in the grip of an internal conflict, marked by successive coups d'etat and changes of leaders. Since the toppling of (?Prince) Daud in April 1978, all three of them had asked for the introduction of Soviet troops urgently to support them in their internal struggle, but the Soviet leadership repeatedly and (?embarrassedly) refused. In fact, Leonid Brezhnev, president and general secretary, told one of the Afghan leaders the Soviet Union will not move troops into Afghanistan. The appearance of our soldiers in your country, Comrade President, will surely set a major part of the Afghan people against the revolution.

[Announcer] Brezhnev was evidently referring to the Afghan revolution of April 1978 in that country. And so what was it that made the Soviet leadership change its mind?

[(Volkov)] There is no dependable information on what tipped the scales in favor of the intervention, but basically there were geopolitical reasons involved: Protecting our southern border from what was perceived as dangerous scheming by the United States; also, some people claimed that a certain role was played by Brezhnev's personal emotions when he found out about the killing during a coup of one of the Afghan presidents he had just recently met in Moscow, but that is little more than speculation. Be that as it may, it is amply clear by now that the political and social situation in that country at that point was grossly misjudged, which led to the erroneous decision.

[Announcer] The first reports in this country about the introduction of troops—and I avoid saying invasion because technically it was not, it was requested by a government that had come to power in Afghanistan without the help of Soviet troops and whether the

government was popular or not is, at this point, another matter—so the first reports about the move were curt and uneventful.

[(Volkov)] The press kept virtually silent about it. There was just the first statement about this country's compliance with internationalist duty, and then reports for years about how Soviet officiers and men were helping the Afghan peasants and workers build economic facilities, which was true, and about how they defeated this or that major counterrevolutionary band, which was also true.

[Announcer] But that was simply not the whole truth.

[(Volkov)] Far from it.

[Announcer] The kind of reporting, or should we say keeping silent, about the war gave people here a completely distorted picture of what was actually going on in that country. Only fairly late in the war we began finding out about what it really meant to this country. Sara Kamenshchikova:

[Kamenshchikova] In the more than 9 years of the war, the death toll for the Soviet Union alone was almost 15,000 men, and about 37,000 more were wounded or maimed. And to the general public, the war was something virtually nonexistant.

[Announcer] So the public was uninformed about the war, with the media tightly controlled and any sort of dissenting opinion stifled.

[Kamenshchikova] The war also had another kind of impact on those who had to fight it, even those who were not physically hurt. Research carried out by the School of Psychology at Moscow University revealed that about 60 percent of all the veterans feel the psychological impact of the war, and one-third of those in an acute form. Afghan veterans are reported to be abnormally aggressive: 3,000 of them are now in prison for criminal offenses. The vets find it very hard to readjust to civilian life, and the media blackout during the first years of the war on this matter only aggravated the problem.

[Announcer] We were also aware that quite a few people in civilian society here are deaf to the veterans' readjustment problems. Not only that, there have been reports of local officials who have been refusing the veterans benefits that are due them according to government decisions.

[Kamenshchikova] Yes, the standard phrase is: We didn't send you there.

[Announcer] (?So) they didn't. The men were sent into Afghanistan by the decision of a very small circle of all-powerful leaders—now all gone. It is perhaps this total estrangement from decision-making that furthered indifference to the fate of the men who honestly did what they were told.

[Kamenshchikova] And they also believed in what they did. One of the Afghan veterans, (Igor Zakharov,) who was there between 1982 and 84, put it this way:

[Begin (Zakharov) recording] The paradox is that the war was a crime, but the officers and the men involved are not criminals. [end recording]

[Announcer] Well now, the media speak a lot about all those problems. It seems though that we have not been hearing enough about what's been going on in Afghanistan itself, about the impact of the war on the Afghans themselves. After all, our presence and the casualties that we cost there could not but affect the entire course of history in that country in the past years and for years to come, probably.

[Kamenshchikova] (?I've) spoken to quite a few Soviet veterans of the Afghan war, and they all said that what they did there was to help the local people, to give them food and protect their homes from the [word indistinct] and mujahiddin rebels.

[Announcer] I know, but we have no way of knowing how things would have gone in Afghanistan if the Soviet Union never intervened. But it's likely that many of the problems that exist or will crop up in Afghanistan in years to come will be blamed on the Soviet Union—and not without reason. Again, we come to the question of what got us into that situation—a losing situation—from a political, military, and moral point of view.

[Volkov] Not long before he died, former Soviet foreign minister and member of the Politburo Andrey Gromyko said back then in 1979 there was no other more influential mechanism for decision-making than the Politburo of the Communist Party. Incidentally he added, there is still no other mechanism; it has yet to be created.

[Announcer] Well, that was said before the convention of the Soviet Union's first Congress of People's Deputies that was elected in March this year, and before the Supreme Soviet—the nation's new standing parliament—got down to work. Do you think we can say that such a mechanism has been set up?

[Volkov] I would rather speak of them as necessary components of such a mechanism.

[Announcer] I would speculate that today, with the formation of these new bodies of state power in the Soviet Union, and with public opinion now playing a role of no small importance in the nation's life, a leadership that theoretically would attempt something like the Afghan war would be doomed.

[Volkov] Probably. But, seriously speaking, we are yet to create a system of counterweights and balances in our state structure that will rule out such a possibility in the future.

Supreme Soviet Group Continues Visit to Morocco

Meets King Hassan II

LD0410105389 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Rabat October 3 TASS—Moroccan King Hassan II recieved today a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) staying here on an official visit.

The delegation head, G. Pallayev, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik Republic, handed over to the head of the Moroccan state a personal message from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

On reading the message, King Hassan II said that Morocco is following with great interest the changes in the Soviet Union. Morocco is convinced that perestroyka will enable the Soviet people to follow the road of creative construction, King Hassan said.

Official Praises Ties With Morocco

LD0410221789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0759 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Rabat, 4 Oct (T ' SS)—The visit by a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet to Morocco is the first visit by representatives of the new Soviet parliament to the countries of the Arab Mahgreb. It is part of the framework of the good relations which have linked the USSR and Morocco for a long time and are based on the firm foundation of friendship, mutual respect, and noninterference in internal affairs. This was said at a press conference held on Tuesday by Gaibnazar Pallayev, the head of the Soviet parliamentary delegation, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

One of the most important components of Soviet-Moroccan interstate ties, he noted, is the contacts between the legislative bodies of the two countries, which have assumed a steady, dynamic nature. In all, there are favorable prospects for mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and Morocco. Individual difficulties are temporary. I have no doubt, Pallayev stressed, that through joint efforts we will be able to overcome them, bring fully into play the existing solid potential, and give new impetus to our relations in the political, commercial, economic, and other areas.

It is possible to achieve a real turn for the better in world affairs only by uniting the efforts of all states, regardless of their size and political weight. This is why the USSR advocates building up constructive cooperation with Morocco on contemporary global problems.

The head of the Soviet delegation noted that the general softening of the international climate in a positive way has also had an effect on regional conflict situations, into which the philosophy of the new political thinking is increasingly effectively penetrating. This problem was also discussed in Rabat. Here, of course, Morocco's considerable prestige in the Arab and Islamic world and in the nonaligned movement has been taken into account. We know of Morocco's contribution to the peaceful settlement in Angola and value it. During discussion of the situation in the Near East, he pointed out, we advocated the realization of the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and stressed the importance of launching a peace process and of practical preparation for a peace conference. An exchange of views on the problem of Lebanon also demonstrated a broad coincidence of views concerning the need for the quickest possible resolution of this fratricidal conflict. We confirmed our support for the actions of the committee of three on Lebanon.

We are pleased, Pallayev stressed, that the situation in Northern Africa has become tangibly less tense. Broad multilateral cooperation is being established and good-neighbourly relations and mutual trust are becoming stronger between the Mahgreb states. It was accepted that Morocco is one of the architects of the "common Mahgreb home", which is now at the stage of implementation.

The contacts which took place demonstrated the sides' common desire for further development of relations in all directions. One more stone has been laid in the foundations of our friendship and mutual understanding, the head of the Soviet delegation said in conclusion.

PDRY Cooperation Session Opens in Moscow

EA0410162489 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] The session of the permanent committee for economic and technical cooperation between democratic Yemen and the Soviet Union began today in the building of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. It was chaired, for the Yemeni side, by Brother Salih Abu-Bakr Ibn-Husaynun, member of the Central Committee, deputy prime minister, and minister of energy and minerals; and for the Soviet side by Comrade Chirskov, minister of construction of petroleum and gas industry enterprises.

The session covered issues relating to cooperation between the two countries in light of the protocol of the previous session of the permanent committee, which convened in Aden in March 1989. The two sides expressed their wish to strengthen and develop cooperation between the two countries.

Brother Salih Abu-Bakr Ibn-Husaynun also met separately in Moscow today with Comrade Chirskov, Soviet minister of construction of petroleum and gas industry enterprise, and Filimonov, Soviet minister of petroleum and gas industry. During the two meetings, which were attended by Brother Dr Ahmad 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Ilah, Central Committee member and democratic Yemen's ambassador to the Soviet Union, cooperation between

the two countries in the economic and technical fields and ways of developing it were discussed.

PDRY's Husaynun Interviewed on Cooperation

LD0510195889 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Excerpts] A Soviet-PDRY joint committee for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation is holding its meetings in Moscow now. Our correspondent Nikolay Gelegov has met the chairman of the PDRY delegation and asked him a number of questions. The following is their press interview:

[Begin recording] [Gelegov] Good evening ladies and gentlemen and welcome to our program. Allow me to introduce to you my colleague in our meeting who is Comrade Salih Abu-Bakr Ibn-Husaynun, deputy prime minister and minister of energy and minerals in the PDRY. Welcome Comrade Salih Abu-Bakr to our country.

[Salih] Thank you very much.

[Gelegov] With your permission, the first question deals with the Soviet-PDRY Joint Committee for Economic and Technical Cooperation. We are aware that you are the chairman of the Yemeni delegation in this joint committee and we would like to know more about the proceedings of this committee.

[Salih] Thank you. First of all the committee's task is to organize relations in the economic and technical spheres between the PDRY and the Soviet Union. I am in Moscow in my capacity as the chairman of the Yemeni side in this committee in order to attend the committee's working meeting on how to implement the agreements signed at the seventh session of the committee which was held in Aden. I have had talks, during this visit, with my counterpart Comrade Chirskov, minister of construction of petroleum and gas industry enterprises in the Soviet Union, who is also the chairman of the Soviet side in the committee, as well as with a number of comrade ministers such as Comrade Filimonov, minister of petroleum and gas industries, and Comrade Kozlovskiy, minister of geology. Our talks were spontaneous and dealt with ways to boost economic and technical cooperation between PDRY and the Soviet Union. We have signed, during the current visit, a protocol which included a number of topics which we had discussed, and which both sides consider important for this period. They deal with petroleum and mineral matters as well as other topics dealing with fisheries and agriculture. [passage omitted]

[Gelegov] Comrade Salih, please, can you elaborate on the content of the protocol which you mentioned earlier?

[Salih] The protocol dealt with future work in the sphere of the development of petroleum in the (?northern parts) of the PDRY by using Soviet companies. It also dealt with oil exploration and drilling in new places and solving the problem of exploitation of gold mines in Wadi Madan as well as other matters dealing with fishing and agriculture which are all within the framework of the seventh meeting of the joint committee which was held in Aden. [passage omitted] [end recording]

East Europe

Gorbachev Visits Berlin on GDR's 40th Anniversary

Seen Off by Leadership in Moscow

LD0610080589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0731 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 6 Oct (TASS)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev left Moscow for Berlin today at the invitation of the GDR leadership.

He is to attend festivities marking the GDR's 40th anniversary.

At the airport Mikhail Gorbachev was seen off by members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Vitaliy Vorotnikov, Lev Zaykov, Vladimir Kryuchkov, Yegor Ligachev, Vadim Medvedev, Nikolay Ryzhkov, Aleksandr Yakovlev, and other officials.

K-H. Fehlberg, charge d'affaires ad interim of the GDR in the USSR, was also among those seeing him off.

Arrives in Berlin; Met by Honecker

LD0610100689 Moscow TASS in English 0940 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin October 6 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in Berlin today at the invitation of leaders of the German Democratic Republic to attend celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the republic.

At Berlin Schoenefeld Airport Gorbachev was met by Erich Honecker and other party leaders and statesmen. Numerous representatives of Berlin work collectives and many members of the public warmly greeted the Soviet president at the airport.

A celebration meeting will be held at the Berlin Republican Palace this evening. It is expected to be attended by about 5,000 representatives of work collectives and public organisations, scientists and workers in culture, and also foreign guests.

Honecker and Gorbachev are expected to speak at the meeting.

'Two Independent German States' Highlighted

LD0510203289 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Viktor Glazunov commentary]

[Text] President Gorabchev goes to the German Democratic Republic on Friday to attend the 40th jubilee celebrations. Radio Moscow's Viktor Glazunov looks ahead to the visit:

[Glazunov in Russian fading into English translation] The president's visit to that country on the occasion of its 40th anniversary is an event of huge political significance. Given that the German Democratic Republic is this country's friend and ally, the jubilee is an occasion for reaffirming the two countries' friendship and allied commitments, as well as for paying tribute to the achievements of the first socialist German state. Like any other country, she has problems of her own. To start from scratch after World War II and to become on the leading industrial countries of the world is an achievement in itself, especially when she has to live next door to the other German state, the Federal Republic—much larger in size and stronger economically.

Far from being a peaceful coexistence, West Germany's 40-year-long attempts at political and economic pressure and ideological subversion have been aimed to unsettle East Germany and to wipe out socialism on German soil. However, the socialist state of Germany stood the test of time, and not least because of its position of a strong link in the socialist community and its invariable reliance for aid and support from the Soviet Union.

President Gorbachev pointed out that the existence of a socialist German state which pursues a consistent foreign policy of peace and gives its strong support for respect of the existing realities in Europe has been making a favorable impact on the situation in Europe and the world at large. This has led to its growing international prestige. The GDR is a member of the United Nations and has diplomatic relations with 135 countries. West Germany's claim to speak on behalf of all Germans is the continued but dangerous idea of absorbing the German Democratic Republic. Putting to question the territorial and political realities in Europe laid down in international treaties is tantamount to putting to question European peace. As history had it, there are two independent German states with different social and political structures. GDR's 40th anniversary, as was West Germany's recent jubilee of as many years, is a good occasion to say it aloud and in no uncertain terms.

Honecker Article in PRAVDA Marks Jubilee

PM0510132089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council: "The GDR Enters Its Fifth Decade"]

[Text] Berlin—On 7 October the GDR, the first socialist state on German soil, marks its 40th anniversary.

It cannot be said that its birth caused rejoicing everywhere. In Bonn at the time they had only just gotten rid of the bonds of the Potsdam agreement in order to prepare the FRG for entry into NATO—when the GDR closed the FRG's path for an "onslaught on the East." At that time, illusion was passed off as hope. The RUHR-NACHRICHTEN, the newspaper of major industrialists between the Rhine and the Ruhr, expressed their view: The GDR would not survive 1950. Well, it did survive, and, if you look back today, not at all badly.

Rising from the ruins of World War II, it managed to take and consolidate its place among the most industrially developed nations of the world. Its socialist social system, which is constantly developing further, functions effectively. What is created by the people's hands belongs to the people and benefits them. Social protection, full employment, equal educational opportunities, and the principle "participate in labor, planning, and management" which is practiced in all spheres, show that in our country freedom, democracy, and human dignity are not only written on paper.

It is clear from this why the GDR sees lasting peace as its most important goal. At the same time this is in accordance with its responsibility that stems from history, and with its position on the dividing line between the two most powerful military coalitions of today. On the side of the Soviet Union, together with the other Warsaw Pact allies, our state advocates the elimination of confrontation and the expansion of cooperation between states with different social systems, reason and realism in the development of international relations, and their normalization.

People can form their own opinions of things, but the fact is that the foundation of the GDR was a turning point in the history of the German people and of Europe. This is particularly apparent in the context of the 50th anniversary of the start of World War II. The existence of our socialist state is a decisive guarantee that war will never again begin on German soil. Reaffirming this at its extraordinary session on 1 September, the GDR Volkskammer honored the memory of the 50 million victims of the world conflagration that was unleashed by the Hitler regime with its criminal attack on Poland in 1939. It honored the memory of the 20 million sons and daughters of the Soviet Union, the main force of the anti-Hitler coalition, who gave their lives to put an end to the brown brute, free mankind from barbarity, and achieve the common goal of the freedom fighters of many nations, including the German antifascists.

From antifascist and democratic transformations, through the creation of the foundations of socialism, to the building of a developed socialist society, on which we are working today—that is how the broad, revolutionary, restructuring process went in the GDR. The working class concluded a firm alliance with peasants, representatives of the intelligentsia, and all working people and learned to use the power they had taken and govern the state. Under the SED's leadership and thanks to the

creative labor of the entire people, year after year the GDR grew stronger as the stable cornerstone of socialism and peace, as a real alternative to capitalism.

But the path we followed, guided by the compass of the ideas of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V.I. Lenin, and refusing to be led astray by disapproving prophecies of doom, was, of course, not always smooth. It involved efforts, some privations, and the surmounting of obstacles and difficulties. Not least of all, the GDR had to protect itself against mass attempts at political and economic pressure and ideological subversion on the part of the FRG, which sought to get rid of socialism on German soil. Incidentally, the fact that the FRG is now once again waging an inflammatory campaign against the GDR speaks for itself. As was rightly noted in the TASS statement, all this coincides with a patent stepping up of the activity of those chauvinist circles in the FRG that have hitherto refused to recognize the political and territorial realities that exist in Europe and have still not renounced the absurd idea of "swallowing up" the GDR. Statements have even been made on the elimination of the postwar order as a practical political task.

For 4 decades now the GDR has held a worthy place in the family of European peoples. Through the very fact of its existence and its active policy, which promotes concord among peoples, it has made and continues to make a considerable contribution to the safeguarding of peace, security, and good-neighborliness in Europe and to its stability. As a firm link in the Warsaw Pact, it is the true friend and ally of the Soviet Union. It has strong armed forces. That should be clear to everyone who tries to encroach on the GDR's sovereignty and independence.

Our republic's important jubilee gives working people in the cities and villages an opportunity to look back with legitimate pride at what they have acheived. At the same time they are looking toward the 12th SED Congress, due to be held next May, which will map out the next section of the path, taking into account the challenges of the nineties. In the course of the open debate launched by the mass media in the course of the preparations, the basic questions of the SED's social strategy that touch on the continuation of our course of consistency and renewal are being discussed in the light of topical aspects of international development. The idea that it is necessary, while guided by the general laws of socialist building, to find those solutions to urgent questions that best accord with the country's specific conditions, is being confirmed. It is well known that every party is responsible to its own people. The SED will continue to operate on this basis, and that includes the need to learn both from one's own experience and from the experience of the other socialist countries.

Both in what has already been achieved, and in the forthcoming creative work an exceptionally valuable role is played by the trusting, comradely collaboration among the parties and mass organizations that are united with the SED in the National Front. This is an important element in our socialist democracy. We regard its further expansion as the main avenue of the further development of state power, since the active involvement of all citizens and representatives of all classes and strata contains the key to the fulfillment of social tasks with the maximum benefit to everyone. Socialism exists for everyone, offers a place to everyone; it needs everyone, regardless of philosophy or religion, and it develops like a living organism.

From today's standpoints the weight and far-reaching influence of the transformations and reforms that attended our republic's formation and growth—more, that promoted its formation and growth—are particularly plain to see. We carried out the land reform, the handover of key enterprises to the people's ownership, the school reform, the reform of higher education, the reform of justice, the law on local people's representation, which extended their rights and duties, the reform of industrial prices, and structural changes in the national economy. From the viewpoint of sociopolitical quality, all this can with a clear conscience be regarded as progress from a lower state to a higher. All this prompted a substantial unleashing of our people's creative forces and initiative and the working people's motivations and production potential, and this is reflected in the growing material and cultural standard of living.

The consistency and renewal that characterize the course adopted by the 11th SED Congress are closely interwoven with the conclusion (written into our party's program in 1976) that the building of a developed socialist society is a historical—that is, in no sense a short-term—process of profound political, economic, social, and cultural transformations. That is the foundation of our concept of society, and in this way that concept is being realized, step by step. Advising us to seek the benefits of socialism in a regression toward capitalism, with all its flaws, looks to us rather like saying that rain falls upward.

We show in practice what socialism is capable of on German soil. Our country is characterized by a high level of economic dynamism and productivity in industry and agriculture, a standard of science, education, and culture that is significant on a worldwide scale, and also a substantial living standard for people. The national income produced in 1989 is more than 11 times the level in the year of the GDR's foundation. In the eighties we have achieved an average annual growth indicator of 4 percent, which is attracting attention even beyond our borders. Industrial production this year will be 16.5 times the 1949 level. And in recent times modern forms of production, which determine the shape of progress, have been developing particularly rapidly. Thus in 1980 our microelectronics produced 180 million marks' worth of integrated circuits, while in 1988 the figure was 2.7 billion marks.

In agriculture, the average yield of grain crops on agricultural production cooperatives and people's estates was 44.3 quintals per hectare in 1986-1988—that is twice the figure for the early years of our republic. At the

same time the production of meat from livestock for slaughter has increased eightfold. Valuable work is done by the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association and the peasants' trade cooperative system. The GDR's successful development would have been impossible without a dramatic improvement in the level of education and the working people's skills. Suffice it to recall that since the establishment of our worker-peasant power, 1.9 million people have received higher or secondary specialized education. With the growth of labor productivity, the working people's income has also increased. The population's net monetary income in 1988 was 162.6 billion marks, more than 6.5 times more than in 1949 and more than one-third more than in 1980.

All of these figures have a very convincing political relevance. The socialist economy, free from capital and the exploitation of man by man, is functioning. The GDR has achieved its substantial economic level within the framework of a socialist planned economy, which is based on the people's interests and founded on social ownership of the means of production. In the last 4 decades we have at the same time had to cope with the most diverse needs and conditions. The economy also had to be rebuilt from the ruins. At the same time it was necessary to even out the gaping disproportions created by the partition of Germany. For several 5-year plan periods the extensive growth of production was in the forefront. But whereas people in the West sometimes claimed that the potential of the planned economy was thereby exhausted, reality proved otherwise. Since 1971, in accordance with the decisions of the Eighth SED Congress, as a result of the restructuring of our economy toward wide intensification, a fundamental change in economic processes has been taking place.

It can now be said that this course has withstood the test of practice. Our party was guided by the fact that growing labor productivity should directly benefit the people and help to improve their working and living conditions. This course and the unity of economic and social policy have since that time determined the utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in our republic. Can you call it humane that in the industrially developed capitalist states, impressive technical achievements go hand in hand with the new poverty and fear of the future? In our country the rapid progress of production forces takes place in conditions of social protection.

It is no exaggeration to say that this policy, which has now been pursued for 2 decades, determined the all-around social climate in our country, its very nature. The SED clearly set the priorities arising from the people's basic, most important requirements. The best example of this is undoubtedly the housing construction program. From 1971 through the end of 1989, under this program 3.27 million dwellings will have been newly built or modernized. By 1990 we will have resolved the housing question as a social problem. This traditional goal of the working class will be fulfilled on a territory where Hitler's war left cities and villages seriously damaged. It is hardly possible to assess highly enough precisely what this means to people. The education system has been restructured, from creches and kindergartens through 10-year general educational and polytechnical secondary education, to higher education and technical colleges. Health care holds a prominent place, paid for by society. Our social landscape does not include privileges in education or medicine that depends on your pocket.

Our social policy gives all-around support to the family and improves living conditions for mothers and children. There have been a number of pension increases for labor veterans, the latest of which will come into force in December. The provision of secure living conditions is promoted by stable, low prices for basic consumer goods, apartment rents, and travel. We note all these results with pride, but at the same time we assess them realistically. They do not by any means prompt us to underestimate certain shortcomings in daily life. Where the state of affairs is not yet satisfactory, it is necessary consistently to seek improvements, for which our economic and social policy forms a substantial foundation. The fact that our country's citizens share this view is indicated by their numerous initiatives with regard to the preparations for the GDR's historic jubilee.

The demands people make on life are growing. And that makes increased demands both regarding involving citizens more widely in public life, and regarding increasing labor productivity. It also requires consistent orientation toward the development of social policy. Our party has for a long time been oriented keenly toward more rapidly improving the supply of high quality consumer goods. We operate from the conviction that progress in science and technology and, for instance, the achievements of microelectronics should be reflected more rapidly in goods with new consumer characteristics. In the nineties social protection will be associated more strongly with the application of the principle of payment according to labor.

The debates preceding the 12th party congress are based on the fact that we are consistently continuing the course toward unity of economic and social policy. The central task is the very important and, of course, difficult one of achieving the necessary economic growth for this purpose. According to our calculations, the successful implementation of the GDR's social strategy requires a continued annual growth in national income of approximately 4 percent. The main source of this can only be scientific and technical progress. We are making efforts to ensure that high technology makes an increasingly effective contribution to this. However, much may still remain to be done in this area, successes are already plain to see. Thus in our country we have succeeded in creating an effective microelectronic base, which required a great concentration of effort. Today's level is characterized by the commencement of production of an integrated circuit with a memory capacity of 1 megabyte and of the first 32-bit microprocessor. We are now

stepping up efforts to achieve new world-level achievements in this sphere. The creation of the factories of the future has begun and the first results have already been obtained.

The multifaceted requirements of the scientific and technical revolution can only be dealt with by an economy whose system of management, planning, and economic accountability is also in a state of restructuring. The new tasks of the seventies led to a particularly urgent need for a significantly closer combination of science and production. We met this need within the framework of combines that bring together considerable potential—from research, through production, all the way to sales. Thus at the same time strong partners grew up, which develop, on a contractual basis, considerably more productive cooperation with higher education, the universities, and institutions of the GDR Academy of Sciences. On the other hand, the emergence and activity of these large-scale economic units, which unite many legally autonomous enterprises, had far-reaching consequences for the work of ministries, the state planning commission, and other central bodies.

The formation of combines as the backbone of our national economy and their direct confrontation with the market took place under the sign of intensification, which is still far from complete. Accumulating experience step by step, we are now in the course of transferring a growing number of combines to cost recovery. This is a transformation just as profound as those carried out in the past 5-year plans. Wide scope is opening up for these strong economic entities to show responsibility and initiative. This does not negate central planning, but makes far greater demands on it. Thus our economic organism is improving, drawing effectively on the potential of both people's ownership and cooperative ownership of the means of production. We strongly support cooperative and private craft workshops and private retail trade, which has a beneficial effect both on consumer services and on supplies to the population.

Naturally, the changes in our economy under the sign of high technology, socialist rationalization, and cost recovery require the participation of everyone and the widening of socialist democracy. Here formalism would only act as an obstacle. But constructive disputes and a lively spiritual life in the collectives help to deal with difficult innovations, too. This is clearly demonstrated by the discussion of next year's national economic plan organized by the trade unions, which is in accordance with our long-standing tradition. Here interesting prospects are opening up for young people. In the future they will not need to fear unemployment. On the contrary, the future offers them wide prospects and gives plenty of scope for everyone to participate in work for our people's benefit.

In light of all this, we assess extremely highly the results of the conversations I had in Moscow on 28 June 1989 with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the accords subsequently achieved. During the meeting M.S. Gorbachev described the GDR's 40th anniversary as an important event in both peoples' public life and stressed that the existence of a socialist German state has a beneficial influence on the situation in Europe and throughout the world. The GDR's stable and dynamic development on the basis of the 11th SED Congress decisions has significant weight in the cause of strengthening socialism as a whole. For my part, I reaffirmed the unanimous support that the SED and the entire people of the GDR give to the course of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference of the CPSU toward renewing Soviet society. With perestroyka the CPSU set about an extremely difficult and complex process that is of key significance for strengthening socialism and ensuring peace throughout the world.

Fraternal relations of unparalleled intensiveness and diversity exist in practice between the SED and the CPSU and between the GDR and the USSR. Suffice it to mention the joint efforts in the sphere of high technology, which are of enormous importance for our economy in the nineties. The same naturally applies to the agreed Soviet deliveries of raw materials and fuel.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union is a powerful prop in our republic's economic policy. In order to win the race against time in the spheres of science and technology, which are so important for the future, it is necessary to extend with the utmost energy our division of labor and production sharing. We see the profound interweaving of our national economies as a highly favorable precondition for the utilization of this great opportunity. Different forms of economic management and planning should not be an obstacle to closer cooperation. There are already 160 agreements on direct links between combines, enterprises, and scientific institutions, and more will follow. Where this is mutually beneficial, joint enterprises and research collectives are also being set up. Approximately 50 percent of the GDR's working people are involved in direct cooperation with the USSR. In all sectors of socialist building in our country it is clear that national tasks can be resolved better, the closer and more effective our cooperation with the Soviet Union is. That was the case yesterday, it was the case today, and will be even more so tomorrow and thereafter.

When the hour of the GDR's birth struck in 1949, the end of World War II was only 4 years behind us, and the imprint of its devastation still lay on our cities and villages. The highest goal could only be to ensure a future in conditions of peace. To this end our socialist state, in collaboration with the Soviet Union, Poland, the CSSR, and the other allies, has done much. It is well known that on the European continent the vicious circle "war, postwar time, prewar time, another war" has been broken. However, in the face of the unprecedented arsenals of nuclear weapons that still exist throughout the world, in the face of the fact that Europe has the

highest concentration of all types of weapons, safeguarding peace is more urgent than ever. Security cannot be achieved at the expense of others, but rather, only together.

The GDR's policy of dialogue and cooperation, reason, and realism, as well as its energetic actions to that end, met with important support thanks to the fact that the USSR-U.S. treaty on intermediate-range missiles and its practical implementation marked the start of nuclear disarmament. In light of this progress, the attainment of which cost such great efforts, development must not be reversed. On the contrary, one of the most important tasks of world policy today is to advance without interruption in the disarmament process. Growing weight is attached to united actions by all who, despite their other differences, advocate the elimination of the danger of nuclear catastrophe.

The positive changes in the international situation are significant, and are encouraging. Nonetheless this is no reason for euphoria, since NATO, as its leading circles have decided, clings stubbornly to the "policy of strength" and "nuclear deterrence." For us, this gives rise to the need to devote due attention to defense capability in our peace policy at all times.

The GDR's 40 years have also been 40 years of firm relations of socialist class fraternity and fraternity in arms between the servicemen of the Soviet Army and the armed organs of the German worker-peasant state—the Volkspolizei and its mobile detachments, the border police, the Ministry of State Security, and, from 1956, the National People's Army. What the Soviet Union did to defeat Hitlerite fascism will never be forgotten. Victory in this life-and-death struggle was possible because the Soviet people, under the CPSU's leadership, created in their country a mighty defense industry and armed forces devoted to the motherland, and because they fought with unparalleled mass heroism to defend their socialist Fatherland at the front, in the rear, and in the areas occupied by the fascists.

The Soviet Army helped the German antifascists to eliminate the material and moral legacy of Hitlerite fascism and took on the task of protecting the new system against encroachments from outside and against imperialist interference, and later supported the building of our own defense and security organs, as well as socialist armed forces for our young republic. Since 1956 the then Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, now the Western Group of Soviet Forces, and the GDR National People's Army have belonged to the leading forces of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, bearing particularly high responsibility for the defense of socialism and peace, because they oppose NATO's main forces literally within range of vision.

In order to achieve a radical change for the better in the international situation, increased political efforts are needed. The Bucharest conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee formulated in precisely this sense a further peace program, in whose implementation the GDR is participating actively. We assess particularly highly the Soviet Union's initiatives in the interests of ending the arms race and promoting disarmament as the main tasks of today. An exceptionally valuable service is thereby rendered to all mankind.

The GDR, for its part, will continue to show no lack of constructive, energetic action to promote the disarmament process, be it with regard to positive results at the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, next year if possible, or with regard to the holding of simultaneous talks on the reduction of conventional arms and tactical nuclear weapons on our continent, or the creation of zones free from nuclear or chemical weapons and confidence zones, on which we have submitted proposals together with the CSSR and Poland. It must also be stressed that our republic, like the other Warsaw Pact countries, is reducing its armed forces unilaterally, irrespective of talks. By the end of 1990 the measures planned to this end will have been completely fulfilled. So our words and deeds do not diverge.

Equal, uncurtailed security for every state belonging to the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the elimination of existing asymmetries and the prevention of new ones, the reduction of armed forces and arms on both sides with a view to removing the capability for attack—and peace in Europe and beyond would be more secure. This is an area of great responsibility for both German states. The joint communique on my official visit to the FRG in September 1987 particularly stressed that they should make special efforts toward a peaceful life together in Europe. This makes it even more striking when in the FRG, where the neo-Nazis are increasingly stepping up their activity under the leadership of Schoenhuber, a former SS man who belonged to the "Adolf Hitler" guard regiment, the "existence of the German Reich in the 1937 borders" is once again being loudly proclaimed, with claims on regions of the USSR, Poland, and the CSSR thus being made, and when people there are stating openly that the "German question" remains "open," conducting a "Heim ins Reich" ("home to the Reich") campaign, and insisting on the "duty to take care of all Germans."

It remains to note that normal good-neighborly relations between the GDR and the FRG can only develop when people do not pursue "pan-German" chimeras, but act on the basis of the realities that arose as a result of World War II and postwar development. Respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence and noninterference in internal affairs are essential. Relations on this basis serve not only the interests of both German states and their population, but, over and above that, the interests of Europe, peace, security, and cooperation.

As a joint home inhabited by states with different social systems and belonging to different alliances, and with a system based on the Helsinki Final Act and other CSCE

documents and bearing the stamp of peaceful collaboration, our continent can have the most positive influence on the international climate. Achieving this is, of course, not easy, but this goal is worth striving for, it deserves the effort. We declare our commitment to this idea, which has great attractive force, and we support its implementation.

The GDR is now entering its 5th decade. No one can expect that in the course of the further building of the developed socialist society the demands will decline; on the contrary, they are increasing. The positions from which we approach the future are stable, and offer great opportunities, and that strengthens our confidence in success. Everything with the people, everything through the people, everything for the people—that remains the slogan of our party and the socialist German state.

Honecker 'Ready' for Disarmament Talks With FRG

LD0510152689 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin 5/10/TASS—The GDR news agency ADN reports:

The GDR is ready for entering disarmament talks with the FRG at any time, state and party Erich Honecker has said.

The promise came in the reply to a letter the FRG Association of Conscientious Objectors addressed to him and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl on the 50th anniversary of the start of World War Two and calling on the two states to suspend for one year the drafting of conscripts.

Honecker referred to unilateral defence cuts adopted by the GDR in January. Under them troops will be reduced by 10,000, tanks and combat aircraft by 600 and 50, respectively, and defence spendings lowered by ten per cent by the end of 1990.

The GDR had adopted these drastic curbs also in the hope the FRG would reciprocate in line with the two German states' special responsibility for peace. Unfortunately, no response had come so far.

The GDR's readiness to enter negotiations or consultations with competent FRG officials on disarmament included the association's proposal to suspend conscription by one year, Honecker said.

GDR's 'Different' Socialism Profiled

PM0510111589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[I. Osinskiy article: "Thoughts About the 40th Anniversary of the GDR. Such Different Socialism"]

[Text] Berlin—An unusual monument has been set up in the village of Kleinnaundorf, near Dresden—someone has carved an inscription on a boulder that has lain here since time immemorial, asserting that the destruction of fascism marks the birth rather than the death of a new Germany.

According to the old inhabitants, a TASS correspondent in the GDR reports to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office, this was done by three communist antifascists in the first few days after the war. They were telling people ardently and passionately about the historic breakthrough that had occurred in their lives and tried to convince them that they would now obtain true happiness. But it was hard for peasants deceived by Nazi propaganda to believe the strange predictions. The patriots left the historic inscription on the boulder, as if to continue the argument.

On the republic's birthday, according to long-established tradition, the inhabitants of Kleinnaundorf place flowers at the foot of the strange memorial. In 40 years of socialist building, they have seen for themselves how perspicacious the unknown agitators proved to be...

I have no intention of compiling a panegyric to the GDR's achievements although, in my view, there is a great deal here that is worthy of respect and even amazement. If I had been writing this five years ago, I would probably have pointed out how, as of 1971, when the republic set out to build developed socialism, the annual GNP growth rate had averaged over 4 percent—which attests to stable and dynamic development. Incidentally, the value of a 1-percent growth has increased in this period from M1.2 billion to M2.6 billion... In 1988 alone 160 major economic facilities were commissioned... Some 4.5 percent of national income is assigned to the development of science and technology every year—this enables the republic to confidently advance in the vanguard of the scientific and technical revolution. Thus, everyone is aware of the GDR's successes in the sphere of microelectronics... One can hardly fail to be surprised at the gross value of the fixed capital, which has reached the astronomical figure of M1.6 trillion!... Against the backdrop of our agricultural confusion, the fact that the republic's grain production has more than doubled while milk and meat production have risen by a factor of 3.5 and 7.5 respectively in the postwar period would be striking... The file also contains other equally impressive figures.

But we are not talking about them today. The time is now such that a lofty style only arouses suspicion. Stunned by the age-old drum roll heralding nonexistent successes, we sometimes even cease to believe our own eyes, we all strive to look behind the facade—aren't the villages like "Potemkin's"! [according to legend, Potemkin, an adviser to Catherine the Great, built sham villages along the banks of the Dnieper to impress the empress with his development of the area]. That is why instead of a "jubilee honor roll" I am proposing to contemplate quite ordinary matters—the daily bread and spiritual food without which you cannot build true happiness, as we have seen for ourselves from our own bitter experience...

You do not have to be an expert to see that there is food available in the GDR. The state has taken care to ensure that every family has approximately the same food rations. Both those whose monthly budget exceeds M2,000 (41.6 percent of the republic's inhabitants) and those with half that income (3.3. percent). There are special stores in the cities where high-quality food products are sold at preferential prices.

The 86,000 elderly people who find themselves on their own with their hard fate have not been forgotten. Their children have grown up and flown the nest in various directions. Neighbors with whom they experienced and suffered a great deal have gone away. Only their photo albums ruthlessly remind them of how busy life was here at one time. Each one of them could, of course, leave these old walls and move into an old people's home, where they would be looked after there and given supervision. But they prefer to stay in their homes and apartments, where unforgettable episodes in their past are associated with every scratch on the wall and every nail in the floor. The GDR People's Solidarity Movement has taken under its wing all the old people living on their own and also other elderly people in need of assistance. This movement numbers more than 2 million members. Apart from offering varying domestic assistance to old people, they prepare meals for them—210,000 portions of various foods are handed out every day—virtually free of charge.

People in the GDR are unfamiliar with the term "beggar"—a term to which we have grown accustomed with such dreadful rapidity. This fact convinces me personally of the advantages of socialism much more than the fact that we are way ahead of leading capitalist countries in terms of our levels of steel and cast iron production.

Yet the imminent resolution of the housing problem seems quite fantastic. Yet it is well known that next year every family in the GDR will have an individual state apartment or individual home. I visited one of them recently.

Mario Fischer, roof maker at a construction trust in the capital, and Rene Fischer, a stomatological nurse, are the happy owners of the 3-millionth apartment constructed or modernized since 1971. "For around a year after our wedding we were living with our parents, native Berliners," the young married couple said. "Then we were given housing from the replacement stock. It was not particularly good—it had no municipal services and was, moreover, quite gray and cold. But it was ours all the same. That is why we left our comfortable home with our parents without a thought. Did it suit us? It is a modular housing unit of good quality without any imperfections. All the rooms are partitioned. The overall area (in the GDR it is not divided into living and usable areas) is 70 square meters. It is well laid out. The conditions are quite suitable for us with two children. Admittedly, the residential district is on the outskirts of the city. And we're not that close to work. At present there are no subway or express streetcar lines running there. We have had to buy a second-hand automobile...."

The words "had to" are perhaps not quite appropriate here. Every family in the GDR wants to have its own transport. I cannot say that this question is being resolved very easily. Automobiles are not that cheap: An ordinary "Trabant" with a motorcycle engine costs M12,000 (approximately R4,000), while a "Wartburg" (an automobile in the "Zhiguli" class) or our "Ladas" cost more than M30,000. Moreover, as is the case in our country, it is not that easy to buy automobiles—the demand considerably exceeds the supply. But facts are facts—more than half of all families have their own vehicles.

I am talking about ordinary matters that I encountered when I worked in the GDR, every day, at every turn. Nonetheless I caught myself thinking involuntarily: Won't some people think that I am embellishing reality there out of respect for my friends? Socialism is painfully different here.

Yes, it is different. Our friends do not hide that. While being sincerely grateful to the Soviet people for their liberation from fascism and for the selfless aid which the USSR has always offered the GDR and having learned a great deal from it, people here have, nonetheless, built a socialist society according to their own social blueprints, with no desire to "ascribe" them to others like a careless schoolchild, using historical traditions and national features as a guideline.

Socialism "in GDR colors" is characterized by a multiparty system and a ramified network of social organizations, which provide the opportunity not only to show concern for the abstract general national good but to consider the interests of every population group—even the smallest. Private activity has become widespread in industry, agriculture, and in the consumer services sphere. In Berlin, for instance, more than half of all restaurants, cafes, snack bars, and consumer service enterprises belong to private traders rather than to the state. But since they enjoy absolutely equal rights with state enterprises and organizations in obtaining technology and equipment, their prices are accordingly identical. And not a pfennig higher! Agricultural cooperatives (they account for 85 percent of the output produced) are the real landowners and can dispose of land as they see fit. The church also has its own plots of land. It uses the income from them for charitable activity—it has constructed hundreds of hospitals, shelters, children's establishments, and boarding schools.... This list of differences could go on and on.

The GDR is a leader in terms of its citizens' living standards, not only in the socialist world but even among many developed capitalist states. But I by no means intend to present the society they have built here as ideal. The actual working people of the GDR do not consider it so either. Moreover, there are those among them who

are dissatisfied with their social position and are convinced that the country lags behind the Soviet Union in developing democracy and glasnost. Thousands of the country's inhabitants have emigrated to the West this year, above all to the FRG, illegally as well as legally—via Hungary's open border with Austria.

...It is a thankless task to be a prophet in a strange land. Nonetheless I have no doubt that our German friends will overcome their difficulties and continue building well-developed socialism, in whose creation they firmly believe, with even more inspiration.

MSZMP's Pozsgay Views Party's Struggle

LD0510221189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] congress opens in Budapest tomorrow. The CPSU Central Committee has sent greetings to the participants.

[Correspondent Evgeniy Shirokov, identified by caption] A total of 1,376 delegates will gather in Budapest's congress center to work out together an answer to the main question: What should the MSZMP be like and how should it operate in the future? The congress' specific agenda will be approved at the first session, but precongress documents, including the draft MSZMP program statement were published beforehand and widely discussed. On the eve of the congress' opening we met with Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Presidium and minister of state

[Begin recording] [Shirokov] Comrade Pozsgay, thanks to your many speeches to various audiences, in the press, and on television your name is linked with the notion of the MSZMP reformist tendency. How do you see the renewed party?

[Pozsgay in Hungarian with superimposed Russian translation] The renewed party will, above all, be capable of again winning the people's confidence. The crisis of the last few years is linked with the MSZMP's governing position. Its prestige has fallen. Certainly the effectiveness of its decisions has been reduced. I think that the congress will create a party which corresponds to the process of reforms, which will satisfy the requirements of political pluralism and throw out obsolete traditions. In this connection the leadership must function not as a governing oligarchy but as the mouthpiece of the party members' opinions. I believe that a party which has been genuinely renewed and which has freed itself from its previous mistakes and dogma will be the main result of the congress.

[Shirokov] You have been nominated as the party's candidate for president of the republic in the forthcoming elections. The parliamentary elections are also not far off. How do you perceive the party's preelection struggle competing with the opposition forces?

[Pozsgay] It will be a hard struggle indeed because of the loss of confidence, about which I have already spoken. Part of the electorate will express its negative attitude to the MSZMP and to its candidates. This will put its stamp both on the presidential elections and on the election of National Assembly deputies. Nevertheless, helped by active agitational work after the congress, we believe that the party will emerge from the election campaign as the governing political force. The essence of the matter is not what this party will be called. It is possible that it will be called the Hungarian Socialist Party. I am certain that democratic socialism's values will be so attractive and that the party's organizational changes will be so democratic that the past will not play a decisive role in the preelection struggle. The party must present guarantees with regard to the country's future which will attract the majority of the voters to its side. [End recording]

Latin America & Caribbean

Further on Shevardnadze's Visit to Nicaragua

Shevardnadze-Ortega Talks Detailed

PM0610104789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 6 Oct 89 p 5

[TASS report: "E.A. Shevardnadze's Visit to Nicaragua]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee, Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, was on a working visit to Nicaragua on 3-4 October at the invitation of the Nicaraguan leadership.

Talks were held with President D. Ortega. Taking part in the talks were members of the national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (SNLF), Vice President S. Ramirez, and minister of Foreign Affairs M. D'Escoto.

E.A. Shevardnadze laid a wreath at the mausoleum of C. Fonseca, the founder of the SNLF.

The USSR minister of foreign affairs conveyed greetings and best friendly wishes to President D. Ortega and members of the SNLF national leadership.

During the conversations and talks, which were held in a warm and comradely atmosphere, the sides exchanged views on topical international problems of mutual interest, and also on some matters of bilateral relations.

E.A. Shevardnadze informed the Nicaraguan leadership about the present stage of perestroyka in the USSR, about progress in reforming the political and economic spheres, and the development of the processes of democratization and glasnost.

The Soviet side stressed that perestroyka and the renewal of all aspects of life in Soviet society is inseparably linked with the new approaches proclaimed by the Soviet

Union in world affairs which are aimed at asserting in international relations a new political thinking, the priority of universally humane values, and the right of peoples to chose the path of their development.

The Nicaraguan leaders gave a detailed account of the situation in their country, describing the transition from the period of armed confrontation, to the aggression from without, to the stage of peaceful construction; the efforts being undertaken by the SNLF to achieve national reconciliation, a solution to the complicated social and economic problems facing the country, and preparations for the general elections in 1990.

E.A. Shevardnadze spoke highly of the course being pursued by the Nicaraguan leadership aimed at democratization of Nicaragua's internal political life; transferring Nicaragua's economy to a peaceful footing in the interests of raising the standard of living of all Nicaraguans; and at the creation of political and juridical guarantees that a free and democratic election process will be ensured, based on participation in it with equal rights for all political forces.

During a discussion of key aspects of the international situation, the need was stated for intensified efforts by the world community to reinforce positive trends in the development of the international situation on the basis of rejecting confrontational approaches in the foreign policy of states, the search for a mutually acceptable balance of interests of all sides, and the expansion of multifaceted cooperation between countries in the name of universal peace, security, and progress of peoples. The sides called for the all-round enhancement of the UN's role in resolving cardinal international problems, and for the principles and norms of international law, enshrined in the charter of this universal organization, to be unconditionally asserted in world practice.

The Nicaraguan leadership stressed its full support for the conceptual positions and practical initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union, which are aimed at building a nonnuclear and non-violent world, at strengthening universal security and trust between states, and at internationally asserting the principles of humanism and civilized interaction.

It was stated with satisfaction that there has been progress in unblocking crisis situations in a number of regions in the world. The sides noted the urgent need for this work to be continued and for the expansion of dialogue; for making maximum use of the peacemaking potential of the UN Toward the political settlement of existing regional conflicts, on the basis of consideration for the legitimate interests of the sides involved; for a search for mutually acceptable compromises; and for the recognition of the right of every people to freely chose its own fate.

A detailed and thorough exchange of views was held on issues relating to the situation in Central America and the state and possible prospects for a final settlement in this region.

The sides confirmed their conviction that the resolution of this task is possible only by peaceful means. In this context they advocated support for the talks process effected within the framework of meetings held regularly between the presidents of the five Central American states which have been drawn into the conflict. They feel that in the present conditions the full implementation of the accords reached at the routing meeting of the presidents of the countries indicated, which was held in August 1989 in the city of Tela (Honduras), is of primary significance.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership, E.A. Shevardnadze expressed support and approval for the specific steps by the Nicaraguan leadership to fulfil the obligations which it took upon itself during the meeting indicated, and relating in the first instance to the further democratization of Nicaragua's internal political life, and to creating conditions for holding free and democratic elections in Nicaragua.

The fundamental significance was stressed for continuing and deepening the regional settlement which the resolution, under the terms defined in the final documents of the meeting of the presidents, of the problem of the contra groupings deployed in Honduras will have.

The sides feel that the adoption of measures aimed at halting the armed struggle in Salvador, and creating the necessary conditions for involving members of rebel organizations in the political processes taking place in this country would help the general improvement of the situation in Central America. In this connection they welcomed the renewal of dialogue between the government and the leadership of the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] of Salvador and expressed the hope that it will lay the foundation toward normalizating the situation in and around the country.

It was noted that a more vigorous involvement of international organizations, in particular the United Nations Organization and its specialized institutions, in the implementation of measures aimed at the total normalization of the situation in Central America would be desirable, first and foremost in the creation of international mechanisms for monitoring the observance of existing agreements, and also in the elaboration of issues linked with giving help to the countries in the region in their economic rebirth.

Having discussed the situation that had arisen around Panama, the sides came out resolutely against any form of interference in the country's internal affairs, wherever such interference might originate.

Certain problems of international economic relations, human rights, and environement protection were also discussed. The priority nature of the struggle against drug addiction and illegal drug trafficking was noted.

When discussing issues of Soviet-Nicaraguan bilateral relations, E.A Shevardnadze and Nicaraguan leaders stressed with satisfction that they had been raised to a

high level. Relations between the USSR and Nicaragua are distinguished by a fundamental proximity of views and evaluations of world processes, confiding [doveritelnty] political dialogue, and broad cooperation in trade and economic, scientific and technical, cultural, and other spheres. Having analyzed the current state of, and prospects for, the development of bilateral links from the viewpoint of the processes that are underway in both states, the sides stressed that today a search for new forms and directions of cooperation, a qualitative improvement of its effectiveness and mutual profitability, and the expansion of fruitful and multifaceted exchanges in the name of strengthening mutual understanding of our countries' peoples is acquiring special importance.

Shevardnadze's News Conference Statement

PM0610113589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 6 Oct 89 p 5

[TASS report: "News Conference Statement"]

[Text] Following the talks held here with the Nicaraguan leaders USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze made a statement at a news conference. There now follows the full text of this statement:

Comrades!
Ladies and gentlemen!

It gives me pleasure to meet with media representatives here in the city of Managua on the occasion of the first visit by a Soviet foreign minister. For a long time I have wanted to visit this legendary nation and I am happy to have been able to do so during the 10th anniversary of the Sandinist revolution, and at the beginning of a new phase in Nicaraguan life—the carrying out of elections that are most important for the Nicaraguan people and for the future of the country.

The Soviet Union and Nicaragua are close friends. We have established a beneficial and constructive political dialogue that has demonstrated there are common viewpoints on most world problems. The regular exchange of notes between Mikhail Gorbachev and Daniel Ortega, and the permanent contact that has existed between our foreign ministries and at other levels—I am referring to other ministries, official organizations, etc—have contributed to this situation.

Our social, scientific, and cultural organizations maintain close contact through inter-parliamentary means. We are developing exchanges of people. This creates new possibilities for learning about the history and cultures of our countries and people.

We are pleased by the fact that we have been able to help Nicaragua resolve several fundamental social problems at a difficult moment for this country, and to overcome the consequences of natural disasters. We also feel gratitude for the Nicaraguans because of their response to the pain felt by Soviet Armenia, which was devastated by an earthquake.

We have a good experience of cooperation, and good traditions in our bilateral relations.

In recent years, the Soviet Union has provided Nicaragua with civilian merchandise worth 1.4 billion rubles. More than 40 joint projects have been carried out.

The Soviet Union has also provided Nicaragua with free aid amounting to 300 million rubles.

Life poses new tasks to be tackled. Nicaragua is now pulling out of an imposed war. Nicaragua is now marching toward elections. We are certain that the long-awaited peace will finally arrive in Nicaragua.

Our economic exchanges will be duly established. This exchange must be reoriented to aim it at social and economic development goals, basically.

As you know, the Soviet Union, in coordination with the Nicaraguan leadership, has temporarily suspended the shipment of arms to the Nicaraguan Government. The Nicaraguan Government has other kinds of problems now, other needs. This is why we have dedicated much of our conversations to the matter of how the Soviet Union can respond to Nicaragua's new needs.

We have reached a full understanding on this matter. On my return to the Soviet Union from Nicaragua, I will inform the Soviet Parliament about my opinion on this issue. The Soviet Parliament will make a definite decision on this. I am sure we will continue to be Nicaragua's partners and will continue our cooperation.

We have been very impressed with the program the Nicaraguan Government has prepared to stabilize the economic situation. It is a realistic program. The fact that there is such a plan makes Nicaragua's peaceful disposition evident. A state geared to struggle and to confrontation would not come up with such a concept.

I believe that the entire international community should help Nicaragua accomplish tasks aimed at improving the Nicaraguan people's well-being. As you know, prior to my trip to the United States for talks with President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker, we consulted our Nicaraguan friends regarding the situation in Central America. During our talks in the United States, we took into consideration the opinion of our Nicaraguan friends. We have informed the Nicaraguan leadership about the nature and the contents of our talks in Washington and Wyoming.

I have already said this, but I want to stress it: The talks in the United States have been, in general terms, useful. I got the impression that Nicaragua's consistent, flexible, and constructive policy for a political settlement represents a very strong argument.

During this exchange of opinions with the Nicaraguan leadership, it was made clear that the Nicaraguan Government is prepared to lead the search for political solutions. During the talks with us the Nicaraguan side stressed the importance of regular meetings of the five

Central American countries' presidents. We also believe that such a practice would be important and could serve as an example to others regions.

We agree with our Nicaraguan friends that the five Central American countries must discuss the matters dealing with cooperation, security, and verification that are outlined in the Guatemala Agreement. We share the opinion that it is necessary to create a permanent negotiating mechanism to consider the issue of armed forces and arms in the region; the elimination of foreign military bases; the withdrawal of foreign military advisers; and the adoption of strict and comprehensive measures to guarantee trust in, as well as control over, commitments.

The following aspect of a future settlement is very important: Stability in the region demands a balance of forces. It demands that the armed forces of each Central American country be sufficient to defend the country, but these armed forces should not exceed the number needed to defend their country. This, of course, will require considerable discussion and agreement on criteria and levels of troops and arms.

I believe the Soviet Union and the United States could help the countries of the region with a definition of the word sufficient and, more importantly, by contributing to compliance with whatever agreement may be reached. There is another possibility: the two big powers could act as guarantors of the regional agreement on a balance of forces.

The Nicaraguan Government has said it is prepared to suspend its acquisition of arms until after the elections if the contras completely stop their military activities. If, nevertheless, the situation demands that Nicaragua acquire some types of light weapons and ammunition in the period prior to the elections, the Nicaraguan Government could report its acquisition and importation of arms and ammunition each time it takes place. We believe this decision represents a bold step that is in line with the openness and honesty of the Nicaraguan Government's position.

The USSR completely supports the Nicaraguan Government's initiatives. We will contribute to their implementation. In this context, we are willing to maintain contacts with all sides involved in the Central American conflict, including the countries of the region and even those with which we do not have diplomatic relations. I am referring to the Salvadoran Government and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front.

By the way, we believe there are conditions for the establishment of diplomatic relations with every Central American country. We are ready to establish those relations with every country, providing it wants to do so.

The Nicaraguan Government's initiatives to consolidate the international legal order and to enhance the role of the International Court of Justice, as well as to protect human rights, eloquently speak for themselves. The members of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission are visiting the country along with numerous foreign delegations, including groups of U.S. congressmen, who are given the opportunity to visit jails and to freely talk with prisoners. In other words, they are given the opportunity to personally learn about the human rights situation in Nicaragua. We have convinced ourselves that the Nicaraguan Government has created all the necessary conditions so that former members of the armed opposition can return to their fatherland. A broad amnesty was decreed and implemented, an agreement with 20 opposition political parties was reached, and conditions for free and clean elections were established.

We also support the Nicaraguan Government's position aimed at achieving a regional cooperation agreement to fight the illegal trafficking of drugs. Nicaragua has joined the Vienna Convention regarding the struggle against drug trafficking.

The talks in Managua have once again convinced us that the Nicaraguan Government wants peace, and sincerely wants the Nicaraguan people to live in conditions of freedom and democracy.

We have arrived at a common understanding that it is useful and necessary to continue holding a serious dialogue with the United States regarding the Central American problems. We have witnessed the start of the Nicaraguan election campaign with the participation of all political forces and the presence of international observers. Yesterday I talked with the chiefs of the Un and OAS missions, who are observing the preparations for and the holding of elections. They said the Nicaraguan Government has created all the necessary conditions to guarantee the success of their mission. I must point out that not many governments would consent to inviting foreign observers to their countries for such purposes, because elections are an internal issue. This shows the Nicaraguan Government's honesty and sincerity and its trust in the people's support.

Nicaragua quite rightly stresses that it expects the other Central American states which have made similar commitments to abide by them. We support that position. The USSR hopes the results of the free and democratic elections in Nicaragua are respected by all governments, especially by the United States, so that this may lead to the normalization of its relations with Nicaragua.

We have discussed the situation in Panama, and we made statements against foreign intervention in the internal affairs of this country, no matter who intervenes.

We are satisfied with the results of the negotiations in Managua. We are hopeful that peace and calm will prevail at last in Central America. Despite the short visit, we have had the opportunity to speak to Nicaraguan people on the street. They have impressed us with their optimism and their faith in a better future. They have

expressed their decision to defend their right to hold elections, and they have supported the steps taken by the government.

I would like to thank the president, the members of the Sandinist National liberation front Directorate, and all colleagues and friends who have participated in the negotiations. We have been impressed with the hospitality and amicability of the heroic Nicaraguan people.

We would like to express our gratitude to them and wish them happiness and prosperity.

Fields Questions From Journalists

LD0510150489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1312 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Managua, 5 Oct. (TASS)—At a news conference that was held here on Wednesday [4 October], Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, answered questions put by journalists.

Question: You said that the Soviet Union is prepared to respond to the new needs of Nicaragua in peaceful construction. How specifically can this be expressed?

Answer: First of all I had in mind the prospects for our economic, scientific, and technical cooperation. The Nicaraguan leadership has the same ideas. We know about them. We have very many interesting proposals regarding how we can pursue matters in the sphere of economic cooperation. There are interesting projects and interesting proposals. We agree with the president and other leaders that some time towards the end of the first quarter of next year, talks will be held in Moscow on the strategic directions in cooperation and on those specific programs that we have appearing in outline in the context of the new conditions of our cooperation with Nicaragua.

We must be more confident about introducing new modern forms of economic cooperation. I have in mind joint enterprises and direct ties between enterprises, state, and private firms that are operating in Nicaragua. We will have to develop cooperation in the broadest sense of the word. We will have to seriously think about joint action on the markets of third countries. All these problems require serious discussion in order to ensure genuinely highly effective cooperation, and mutually advantageous cooperation, which is not of secondary importance either.

Question: How does the Soviet Government evaluate the effective usage of Soviet aid by the Nicaraguan Government over the past 10 years? Did President G. Bush and State Secretary Baker state during the talks with you that the United States will respect the results of the general elections in Nicaragua?

Answer: It is difficult for me to answer the question as to what use was made of Soviet aid. However, it seems to me that it was an important factor in the just and heroic struggle of the Nicaraguan people for freedom and the ideals of the revolution. As for the task which we must set ourselves now, then we surely ought to enhance the effectiveness of that cooperation so that our friends in Nicaragua and we in the Soviet Union achieve the most benefit from that cooperation. Such prospects do exist.

As for the talks in Wyoming, yes, the American side really did say there that the United States will respect the results, as is now said, of honest elections.

Question: You said that the Soviet Union and the United States could act as guarantors of a regional agreement on the balance of forces in Central America. In what might that be reflected realistically?

Answer: I said—and the President spoke along the same lines—that a mechanism of talks needs to be created in order to define the limits of defense sufficiently. In other words—the limits of the military potential of every Central American country. That is a very complex process. And if an accord is reached on defense sufficiency on a Central American scale, the Soviet Union and the United States could act as guarantors for the fulfilment of these commitments by all sides participating in the talks. That is the question. Incidentally, other permanent members of the UN Security Council could also act as guarantors.

Question: Why is it that your statement mentions only a temporary suspension of arms deliveries from the USSR to Nicaragua? Should not the arms deliveries to Nicaragua be stopped altogether?

Answer: This can be done on a permanent basis, too, but only on principles of reciprocity. I have in mind Central American countries. However, this is a special issue. Therefore, it is no mere coincidence that we are putting this problem to the forefront in order to sort things out with regard to the defense sufficiency. This opens a vast perspective for showing restraint in the sphere of arms deliveries, in general, to the region.

Question: You are going to visit Cuba now. What are you going to say there about arms deliveries to Central America and about the possibility of stopping them?

Answer: I will say the same thing I said in my statement now, and what was said in the statement of the Nicaraguan Government.

Question: Do you see any difference between USSR-Nicaraguan cooperation during the Brezhnev epoch and at present? And a second question: If the USSR has suspended arms delieries to Nicaragua, does it mean that it has withdrawn all its military advisors from Nicaragua?

Answer: I would not like to separate the Brezhnev epoch from our time. We have always tried to help the heroic people of Nicaragua sincerely and in a fraternal manner. This is how it was in the past and our policy has not changed. Perhaps now the issue of the effectiveness of cooperation has been brought to the forefront, and if a

political settlement takes place, this will be the issue of cooperation in peaceful conditions. I am sure that a peaceful settlement will take place. There is no other way out.

As regards the advisors, there are none. We said today that the issue of military presence in Central American countries should be resolved in essence and that the region's countries should be freed of military presence.

Question: Why was there no joint Soviet-Nicaraguan statement on the results of the talks, but issuing two separate statements instead?

Answer: In actual fact they are a joint statement. Everything in them concurs.

Question: You said that the USSR intends to establish contacts with other countries in Central America. In what manner does the USSR intend to establish these contacts, for example, with El Salvador?

Answer: It is a question of coming to an agreement. For the moment we have not set about implementing this idea. If the government of El Salvador shows an interest in this, we shall meet it half way. It is now no problem to establish contacts.

Question: Do you think that Soviet economic aid to Nicaragua will be reduced in future?

Answer: No, I don't think so. I think that our relations are expanding and growing stronger.

Question: Will the USSR change its foreign policy with regard to Central America if the United States continues pursuing its policy of interference in the region's internal affairs?

Answer: We have a definite and clear policy with regard to Central America, Latin America, and any other region. And we shall uphold this policy line. As for interference, irrespective of where it ensues from, we have condemned and will continue to condemn it.

Question: During your talks in the United States, did you notice that the United States was willing to accept ideas that you put forward here? After all, up to the present day, the United States' view has been that the Soviet Union can have no business in Central America, and that it should not participate in the process of regional settlement.

Answer: I would not agree that the Soviet Union kept away from the problems in Central America. It is another matter that of late we have become more actively involved in this process. The process itself is developing more actively, in a more interesting manner, and more effectively in the region. The Soviet Union has made a definite contribution to this. As far as the nature of dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States on the Central American problem is concerned, we believe that it is useful despite of all the contradictions.

Further Reportage on Shevardnadze's Visit to Cuba

Shevardnadze, Castro Hold 'Thorough' Talks

LD0610085789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0443 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Havana, 6 Oct (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, paid a brief working visit to Havana 4-5 October.

The Soviet minister met with Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist [PCC] Central Committee and president of the Councils of State and Ministers, and had thorough talks with him.

Sincere comradely greetings and wishes of great success were passed on to the Cuban leader from Mikhail Gorbachev.

During the full talks, which covered a broad range of international problems and matters of bilateral relations at a fundamental level, it was stressed that the outcome of Mikhail Gorbachev's recent visit to Cuba and his talks with Fidel Castro are a firm foundation for the diverse Soviet-Cuban interaction and cooperation.

A committed exchange of information was held about CPSU policy of revolutionary perestroyka in the USSR and about the PCC's implementation of a rectification program in its republic.

The Soviet side noted Cuba's major successes in building socialism and its achievements in the social sphere, education, healthcare, and the development of culture.

F. Castro showed great interest in the course of perestroyka in the USSR, the activity of new political structures, plans in the economic sphere, and methods of resolving specific problems and overcoming difficulties.

He stressed that all socialist countries, states of the Nonaligned Movement, and other peoples have a stake in the success of Soviet restructuring.

The interlocutors noted that progress along the path charted in both countries is opening up new opportunities for improving socialism and for the further development of Soviet-Cuban ties in the spheres of the economy and science and technology, in the realm of culture and sports, and of imparting greater effectiveness to them through new, progressive forms of cooperation.

There was a broad-based examination of the main trends of the present-day world and of socialism's role and place in it.

In the same key, the situation in the Third World was discussed and the need was stressed for pooling the efforts of all states in the matter of shaping the democratic international relations of the third millennium.

A common view was expressed regarding the importance of advancing the principles of new thinking in world politics and of switching over the confrontation to cooperation and interaction.

During the examination of international problems, considerable time was taken up by E. Shevardnadze's description of the results of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Wyoming, of the impressions gained in his numerous conversations and contacts in New York, and of the initial stage of the 44th UN General Assembly session.

It was noted with satisfaction that the world political process is being increasingly filled with positive elements aimed at the constructive goals of resolving the complicated global tasks that have arisen before mankind at the present historical stage. The improvement of relations between the USSR and the United States is playing no small role in this context.

The state of relations between Cuba and the United States, which by no means are at their present level as a result of the policies of the Cuban leadership, looks like a patent anachronism in the conditions existing now.

Heightened attention was paid to an analysis of the situation in Central America. With sincere satisfaction, E. Shevardnadze informed F. Castro of the talks and conversations he had just held in Managua with D. Ortega and other Nicaraguan leaders. The invariable nature of the USSR and Cuban approach to settling the Central American conflict was stressed, as it is on consideration of a balance in the interests of all sides involved in the conflict, on the exclusion of any outside interference and on the recognition of every people's right to choose their own path of development. The USSR and Cuba support the efforts of the Central American states aimed at reaching a peaceful political settlement of the situation in the region. A high appraisal was given of the Nicaraguan leadership's contribution to this process which recently has produced encouraging results. The Sandinists' initiatives, contained in a Nicaraguan Government statement adopted in connection with the USSR foreign minister's visit to Managua, is a new demonstration of their goodwill.

Touching on the situation that has emerged around Panama, the sides resolutely called for the sovereignty of this country to be respected and stressed the unacceptability of any attempts to interfere in its internal affairs, not to mention the use of force.

In light of the results of the September conference of the Nonaligned Movement in Belgrade, the sides confirmed their high appraisal of this movement's role in world politics, in which Cuba has played a prominent role for many years.

Fidel Castro's talks with E. Shevardnadze again demonstrated the depth and sincerity of the relations uniting the Soviet and Cuban peoples.

Shevardnadze Comments on Departure

LD0610064289 Moscow TASS in English 0636 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Havana October 6 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze ended his brief working visit to Cuba on Thursday.

At Jose Marti International Airport he was been off by Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders.

Among the send-off party were Julio Camacho Aguilera, Cuban ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Yuriy Petrov, Soviet ambassador to Cuba.

At the airport Shevardnadze and Castro had a brief talk with Cuban and foreign journalists.

The Soviet foreign minister praised the results of the talks with the Cuban leader on a broad spectrum of issues. "According to established tradition, we had interesting and detailed talks with Comrade Fidel Castro. The talks were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere and were characterised by mutual understanding," Shevardnadze said.

"The exchange of views," he emphasised, "revealed complete agreement on the main problems of our times, both global and regional. We achieved complete mutual understanding. Mutual support for and solidarity with the building of socialism in Cuba and the current processes in the Soviet Union were expressed during the talks".

In answer to a TASS question, Castro referred to present-day Soviet-Cuban relations as very good. "I can say in all frankness that there is a favourable climate of mutual trust in relations between our two countries," he said.

Shevardnadze's Visit to Cuba, Relations Discussed

PY0510233789 Moscow in Portuguese to Brazil 2200 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will make a short stopover in Cuba on October 5 on his way home after visiting New York and Managua. We have a report from our correspondent Viktor Gorbachev in Havana.

Gorbachev met with a high-ranking official on the Cuban Foreign Ministry, Sidroc Ramos, who noted that this is Shevardnadze's fourth visit to Cuba since 1986. This is an indication of the continuous high-level exchange of information on a variety of issues between the two countries. The broad economic cooperation between the two countries and their active participation in world affairs is at the base of the dialogue.

The Soviet Union and Cuba share a common attitude on international problems. The two countries are united by their common aspiration for a solid peace, the rights of all states to choose their own destiny, and the establishment of just international economic relations.

Cuba and the Soviet Union take part in solving regional problems. One example of this cooperation can be seen in southwest Africa, where the two parties agree on the substance of issues even though they maintain different positions on some aspects. But our difference of opinion does not harm the common cause or cast shadows on our relations. We respect each other's rights and do not pretend to claim the absolute truth.

I think that it is precisely because of this respect that the predictions regarding a deterioration in our relationship due to differences of opinion on Cuban domestic policies are not justified. There is a huge difference between the Soviet perestroyka and the Cuban process of correcting mistakes that began in Cuba 3 years ago.

This does not mean that our two countries will go their own ways. Here is the opinion of Sidroc Ramos:

[Begin Ramos recording in Spanish with simultaneous translation into Portuguese] The relations between the Soviet Union and Cuba have always been characteristic of two independent states, of two brotherly countries, each one implementing its own policies according to their own experiences. But this does not mean that we will go our own way. I do not see any conflict because each nation acts according to its own experiences. [end recording]

One country's situation may have various repercussions in another country, and those repercussions may not always be positive. For example, the situation in the USSR can cause difficulties in the Cuban economy, which has already felt some unfavorable effects. There are new problems that must be solved.

Throughout history it is possible to find several similar situations which had negative effects on politics. Can the same thing happen in this case?

[Begin Ramos recording in Spanish with simultaneous translation into Portuguese] I don't think so. We know that the USSR has experienced unavoidable difficulties and, consequently, such difficulties cannot harm our relations. [end recording]

This answer reveals that Soviet-Cuban relations are marked not only by mutual respect and equal rights but also by mutual understanding.

Commentator Views Shevardnadze's Visit to Cuba

PY0510223989 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0130 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Vladimir Korotov commentary]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will stop over in Havana after his trips to the 44th UN General Assembly and Nicaragua. He is expected to exchange opinions with Cuban authorities on problems of mutual interest. Our commentator Vladimir Korotkov writes:

The contacts between statements and politicians of both countries has long been a tradition. Numerous problems arise in today's rapidly changing world, prompting discussions as provided for in the friendship and cooperation treaty between the two countries that was signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Fidel Castro in Havana 6 months ago. One of the articles of this treaty expressly states that the USSR and Cuba will continue to exchange opinions on the most important problems for the sake of closer interaction in the international arena.

As was stressed during the latest meeting between the Soviet and Cuban leaders this past spring, Cuba and the USSR have a common view of the fundamental problems in international affairs. Both brotherly countries are united for a definitive peace, the elimination of the nuclear threat, the affirmation of all peoples' unconditional right to freely choose their own destiny, and the establishment of just international economic relations.

In recent years there has been a general improvement in the world situation. A promising situation now exists in which common objectives proposed by Cuban and Soviet foreign policy can be pursued. It is therefore necessary to double or triple our joint efforts to overcome the resistance of forces that have used any means to hinder the improvement of the international climate. These forces have tried to revive the use of force to impose their will on others. Their persistence in this policy stokes the fire of regional conflicts and keeps people from expressing their own opinions.

The Soviet Union and Cuba strongly support political solutions to all regional conflicts, including that of Central American, where there is still a possibility of ensuring peace and security by accomodating the interests of the parties involved.

To reach an accomodation, it is necessary to exercise tolerance—the civilized political behavior of which Shevardnadze spoke at the UN General Assembly. Shevardnadze drew an interesting analogy in his speech there. He said: There was no enthusiasm aroused in the USSR by the election failure of the Polish Communists. The Soviet Union, however, is willing to actively cooperate with Poland's new coalition government and wishes it success. The Soviet minister then asked why other countries are so intransigent regarding Cuba. If in a socialist country the prime minister is not a Communist, why

should it be considered absurd for a Communist to head a Western government? We think this is an interesting question.

Nikitin Receives Cuban Agriculture Minister

PM0510131989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Cooperation Questions Discussed"]

[Text] On 2 October USSR Council of Ministers First Deputy Chairman V.V. Nikitin received Cuban Agriculture Minister C. Perez.

During the meeting there was an analysis of progress made in bilateral cooperation in ths sphere of agriculture, land reclamation, and the food industry. An accord was reached on implementing additional measures to increase the scale of Soviet-Cuban collaboration in the sphere of agro-industrial production.

Cuban charge d'affaires in the USSR R. Mirabal participated in the conversation.

Supreme Soviet Session

Deputy Ponders Economic Deliberations

PM0610114789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with G.I. Filshin, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by S. Karkhanin under the rubric "Kremlin Debate. Session Participant's Opinion": "In Defiance of Inertia"; date, place not given]

[Text] Gennadiy Innokentyevich Filshin, an economic scientist from Irkutsk, is a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and is working on materials for the country's draft state plan and budget for 1990 within the Planning, Budget, and Finance Commission of the Soviet of the Union.

[Karkhanin] How are these investigations going?

[Filshin] I would say that life itself and the importance of the information given us by the government make us approach the analysis of every indicator with the maximum exactingness. The chief task is to investigate everything thoroughly and find reserves so as to channel them into the social sphere. The commission has asked for materials to help us decipher a number of points which seem unclear to us. One of these points is foreign economic relations. These are the figures, for example: We, the Soviet Union, owe other countries approximately 34 billion foreign currency rubles, while we are owed almost 87 billion, and it is a big question whether we will get back even half of this sum.

First, it makes sense to ascertain whether this situation is normal. Second, to investigate how it came about. Particularly as inertia in the work of our planning organs has still not been overcome.

Paradoxes are coming to light in the Soviet Union's economic relations with certain countries and, as a rule, these paradoxes are not in our favor. Because of them we suffer giant losses, when the situation in our own country's economy is so complex.

[Karkhanin] Gennadiy Innokentyevich, you and the other deputies on the commission have familiarized yourselves with export and import characteristics. An abundance of suppositions and guesses have been made in this regard, but previously investigators did not have the full range of data at their disposal. What has your analysis shown?

[Filshin] Unfortunately, our export structure is based, in practice, almost entirely on raw material resources and semimanufactures and is not yet changing. The time has come to investigate who is producing such low-quality output in the processing industry that it cannot find buyers on the external market and the reasons why. It turns out that the steadiness of this trend is directly linked with disregard for scientific and technical progress on the part of ministries, departments...

Without scientific and technical progress, the updating of equipment, an improvement in the quality and reliability of products, and strict technological discipline the leap forward that our national economy needs cannot be made. What is needed here is not just the desire but rigid control, including, in my view, on the part of people's deputies.

We on the commission have examined almost all construction projects costed at half a billion rubles. Incidentally, there were not many of these. We also looked at construction projects costing over R200 million. In general, those that are under the control of central planning organs. Expert analysis has shown that the majority of the projects in question were to have 20-year-old technology and that they are to be commissioned in 5-6 years' time. The question arises: Who will need the output of such enterprises?

[Karkhanin] This is not the first time we have spoken of this. But I would like, after all, to find the reason. We have a nonstop mechanism that builds in uncompetitiveness and technologies that are known to be obsolete functions, but how can it be stopped?

[Filshin] Ministries and production departments have failed to fulfill their chief function. Tackling only day-to-day questions, they have virtually avoided assimilating progressive experience, including foreign experience. And consumer industry enterprises have ended up in the most vulnerable position.

True, measures have been taken, but the results obtained have sometimes been strange... For example, we still cannot ascertain just what is now being done by the plants which were transferred 3 years ago to the defense complex by the disbanded Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances. The aim was good: It was intended that defense specialists would help food machine building to organize the production of high-quality output. But even now food industry workers are not getting equipment of the necessary technical standard, and what they do get is tens of times more expensive.

Incidentally, the defense complex has decided to treat our deputies' commission and the Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security generally in quite an odd manner. It is demanding R64 billion from the budget for 1990 not counting the cost of capital construction, without working out where this money is needed or what for. But we want to investigate what proportion really is needed to maintain the country's defense capability and what proportion will go on useless structures without which the state could breathe more easily.

[Karkhanin] But perhaps such data should not to be divulged? Our defense capability cannot be allowed to suffer harm because of someone's talkativeness.

[Filshin] By virtue of their main work the deputies on the subcommission tackling this question have come into contact with state secrets before and not allowed any leak

of information. We are perfectly well aware of the degree of our responsibility. And then, deputies need details not in order to satisfy their curiosity but to find in the interests of the entire country the material and human resources of which the national economy is now in dire need.

Incidentally, secrecy is the best means of concealing inactivity, uselessness, and chronic faults. Obsolete, useless structures hidden deep within the defense complex hamper the complex itself. It is this that we must investigate together.

A "lacuna of silence" is convenient for evading responsibility. We have now made a request on the need for a government report on why this year's plan targets on key points have, to put it simply, been wrecked. It seems to me that the discussion of the draft plan and budget for 1990 must begin with this. The figures outlined for this year and the actual indicators reveal directly opposite trends. Let us take wages, for example. According to the calculations of the State Planning Committee [Gosplan], they were to have fallen 0.4 percent during the first 6 months of this year. In fact they increased 9 percent. And such a thing should have been foreseen!

Or housing construction. A mere one-fourth of the proposed amount was built—I mean during those same 6 months. Although the situation has not been rectified to this day. The State Committee for Construction [Gosstroy] tries to justify itself by saying that the duty to erect housing has now been entrusted to local soviets, which are failing to cope with it. But it is quite a different matter: The material and technical base of construction for the social sphere exists only in large cities. It seems clear to me that the Gosplan and the Gosstroy have not prepared for the sectors' shift toward social needs. What technical progress can there be if the Siberian construction industry receives, in accordance with the plan, equipment dismantled in other oblasts?

Siberia now produces 80 percent of our aluminum and does not have a single modern plant for the production of aluminum structures. For 20 years we have been raising the question of making rolled aluminum products in our own Irkutsk Oblast for the needs of construction—primarily housing construction. And no response. How can the Gosstroy absolve itself of responsibility if it has not resolved for so long the problem of funds and resources for the housing program!

[Karkhanin] Gennadiy Innokentyevich, in a recent break in the plenary session M.S. Gorbachev invited you to the presidium table. What did you talk about?

[Filshin] We spoke precisely of regional economic accountability for Irkutsk and Kemerovo Oblasts. Siberian scientists have prepared all the necessary studies, and Mikhail Sergeyevich recommended that we pass our proposals to the government. I consider the question of regional economic accountability to be fundamental. With its help it is possible, first, to interest people in good work and, second, to rectify biases in social justice. Incidentally, Irkutsk Oblast is very like the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in miniature in terms of the structure of its economy, and I believe that the experience of our experiment would be useful to the whole republic.

Afghan War Amnesty Proposals Cause Debate

PM05101133989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[Commentary by Major V. Zolotukhin, USSR people's deputy from Tashkent: "Draft in Preparation at Present: Pardon for Whom?"]

[Text] On 2 October the Supreme Soviet examined the question of an amnesty for former servicemen from the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan who were imprisoned by the Afghan armed opposition and who have committed criminal offenses. As is well known, deputies did not arrive at a united viewpoint during the discussion of the proposed draft resolution. It was decided to generalize the proposals received by the commissions and committees and once again submit the draft to the Supreme Soviet for ratification.

Today we publish the opinion of Major V. Zolotukhin, USSR people's deputy from Tashkent, on this question:

[Zolotukhin] The document submitted for the session's consideration is extremely important in the political sense. Its adoption would herald our state's confirmation of general human values. The text of the draft fully accords with this aim. However, our task is to adopt not merely a declaration but a concrete resolution on whose basis the fate of every person imprisoned by the Afghan armed opposition can be determined and conditions created for their return home. However, in its proposed form the resolution will not resolve that task.

The first point reads as follows: "To relieve of criminal responsibility for their crimes former servicemen from the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan abroad who were imprisoned by the Afghan armed opposition if they express a desire to return to the USSR." The question involuntarily arises: What crimes are at issue, those committed prior to capture or while in jail? I know that some servicemen left their units, fearing responsibility for their crimes.

For instance, in May 1984 Private Radzhabov decided to settle accounts with perpetrators of nonregulation relations who were tormenting him and hurled a grenade at them. Fearing responsibility, he then fled the stockade and escaped. If he now wants to return home, will he be punished or not?

Or what about Private Yashin. In 1984 again he lost a submachinegun. After criminal proceedings were instituted, he disappeared from the unit's base.... Let us assume that we stipulate that these people are freed of responsibility for the crimes that caused them to desert. But we would then be in an even more ridiculous

situation since this would be unfair to the servicemen who were subjected to criminal punishment for similar crimes but who preferred, if one can put it like that, to be tried at home rather than to desert.

We forgive Private Yashin for losing his weapon. But what about Private Bulba, who was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for losing his weapon? We can amnesty Private Radzhabov, who hurled a live grenade at his fellow servicemen, and say nothing about Private Fedulov, who was sentenced to 12 years in a correctional labor colony for a similar crime. These are all examples from the Afghan war.

What conclusion follows'. It looks as though we will simply force Bulba, Fedulov, and their ilk to bitterly regret that they remained Soviet citizens and did not run to the opposition camp but preferred to take their place in the dock.

I see the way out of this situation as lying in the adoption of a special resolution on an amnesty for Soviet Army servicemen and civilian employees who committed crimes during their time in the Republic of Afghanistan. Irrespective of where these people now live—in the Union or abroad. This resolution must also list the crimes for which an amnesty is provided. But the first point of this decree could be determined as follows: The very fact of spending time in an enemy jail is not liable to criminal punishment.

Lithuanian Deputies Seek Dialogue With Gorbachev

LD0610091689 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] As has been announced, during Monday's sittings of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow the Lithuanian deputies handed a statement to President Mikhail Gorbachev. (?Here then) we have no news of what response it evoked. Let me remind you that no response followed either on Monday or Tuesday, while today, according to the established order, the session split into parliamentary comissions. Nonetheless the popular Lithuanian youth daily KOMJAUNIMO TIESA has described today from the words of the Lithuanian deputy Nikolay Medvedev the first reaction of the president. When Mikhail Gorbachev was approached by our deputy the president asked: What has your Genzyalis proposed this time? A pertinent question, (?as) Bronius Genzyalis, is a deputy for Lithuania and Vilnius University professor. The deputy Nikolay Medvedev told the president, quote—we need a serious dialogue. Let's us, the Lithuanian deputies and you, meet for a roundtable discussion. We shall attempt to find a common language and make clear what we want and seek—unquote. Mikhail Gorbachev promised a meeting and a serious dialogue.

So much about the immediate reaction, and now on to the highlights of the statement signed by 40 deputies for Lithuania. The statement contains strong criticism spearheaded towards the Central Committee's statement issued on late August on the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics. The statement hushes up the well-known historic facts: it contains misinformation (?of) society and threats launched against the Baltic nations. Widespread protests against the Central Committee's statement became commonplace in Lithuania, yet our deputies have made a much more important step. They maintain that the Baltic issue should be resolved only by direct negotiations of the parties concerned and in keeping with the norms of international law. The Lithuanian people should solve the dilemma self-dependence or no self-dependence, by way of referendum. Though the deputies suggested publishing their statement in the all-union press media so far even not a single Lithuanian daily made it public.

Minister Queried on Financing of State Bodies

LD0510120289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session our correspondent in the Kremlin, Aleksandr Ruvinskiy, reports:

Today, the commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet are continuing their work. I will acquaint you with the work of the Planning and Budget and Finance Commission of the Soviet of the Union.

Financing for the upkeep of the bodies of state power and state administration for 1990 was examined. Fifteen representatives of departments, and experts were invited to attend the session. A head of department from the USSR Ministry of Finance gave a report. It follows from this report that the rates at which the numbers of the administrative apparatus in the country have been growing have slowed down since 1985. But even so, the numbers are growing. Strange as this may seem, this is mainly happening at enterprises that have gone over to financial autonomy. Overall, R44 billion are spent on the upkeep of the country's administration apparatus.

The explanations furnished by the Finance Ministry did not satisfy the deputies. Very many questions arose. Frequently pressure is brought to bear on enterprises, for example, to transfer money for the upkeep of the state apparatus; this is over and above the money that is allocated in a centralized manner. Not everything is clear with respect to the financing of state acceptance, which takes more than R300 million per year. The large expenditure on the upkeep of the People's Control Committee gave rise to some doubts, although it must be said that it is envisaged that this expenditure is to be reduced somewhat in the coming year.

The deputies supported an increase in expenditure on the activity of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. An increase of R500 million in this area was proposed. This money will go toward raising the official salaries for rank-and-file members and for junior commanding staff, and on the acquisition of 60,000 radio stations, motor vehicles, computer equipment, and protective gear.

Financing of the Supreme Soviet was also examined. There is this interesting detail: It is envisaged that the money allocated for making awards for next year should be increased 2.5 times, even though the number of awards is constantly decreasing. It was revealed that wholesale prices for metal, nonferrous and precious metals, have grown considerably over the past year, and this is the reason for such an increase.

The budgets of the USSR Council of Ministers, the Supreme Court, the Public Prosecutor's Office and other central departments were also examined. In so doing, the deputies expressed the opinion that under no circumstances should these expenditures be higher than this year.

Since the Ministry of Finance could not give exhaustive answers to many questions, it has been decided to continue the discussion of this question next Monday [9 October], with the minister of finance invited to attend the session.

Deputy Baryshnikov Comments

LD0510162989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Excerpt] At the USSR Supreme Soviet session—"Radio Diary", by our commentator Lyudmila Semina:

[Semina] Work at the session today is in committees and commissions. The range of problems which the deputies are discussing relates first and foremost to the agenda of the session, and in the majority of committees and commissions, the current main bills are being discussed: On the plan and budget for the country for 1990 and a package of basic economic laws among which are laws on property, land, leasing, taxes, and about the socialist enterprise. I will add that the committee on the work of local soviets has begun the detailed consideration of the law on local self-administration.

All the same, the main, primary task today is to figure out how we will live tomorrow, in 1990. The Council of the Union Planning, Budget, and Finance Commission is meeting every day in the Kremlin. We are following its work with particular attention. Today there is a discussion about the expenditure from the country's state budget for the maintenance of the bodies of state power and the bodies of state administration. I think that many people are interested in what resources we spend on our administrative apparatus.

Deputy Yuriy Nikolayevich Baryshnikov, departmental chief of the USSR Ministry of Finance spoke about this in detail today. Listen to a fragment of his speech:

[Begin Baryshnikov recording] Of late, the administrative apparatus has been the focus of public attention. On the one hand, not a few critical remarks are made about it—and that is understandable in so far as many of our failures are in fact connected with the apparatus, with its unwieldiness, cumbersomeness, and bureaucratic nature; on the other hand, the question is seriously asked about strengthening and increasing the efficiency of the administrative apparatus, in so far as that without a trained and energetic apparatus it is not possible to resolve the problems presented by life at all.

What is the administrative apparatus, and what does it cost the state? In 1988, when the state statistical committee conducted the last stock-taking, the numerical strength of the apparatus was 15 million people. In comparable conditions however, by comparison with 1985, it had risen by 49,000 people, or a growth of 0.3 percent. The portion of administrative personnel in the overall numbers of personnel rose from 12.5 percent in 1985 to 12.7 in 1988.

Although in itself the growth of the apparatus cannot be regarded as a positive factor, at the same time the rate of its growth slowed down sharply. At the same time, in enterprises and organizations where the overwhelming portion of the country's administrators are employed, the numerical strength of adminstrative personnel increased by 414,000 people, or by 3.2 percent.

Thus in the administrative bodies it has been possible, over the past year, to achieve a reduction in the apparatus, although at the expense, in the main, of administrative effect. At enterprises, however, which have been provided with the right to independently establish their structure and administrative staff, there is no sufficiently efficient mechanism at present for the reduction of administrative personnel.

The total expenditure for the maintenance of the apparatus, for the national economy as a whole, is R44 billion. Of these, 6 billion are for the maintenance of the administrative bodies, both according to the budget and by financial autonomy. The overwhelming portion of expenditure on the apparatus however—38 billion—is accounted for by enterprises, organizations, and establishments which maintain their administrative personnel mainly out of their own financially autonomous resources.

You know that at the Congress of People's Deputies it was noted that considerable possibilities for redistributing resources to the benefit of the social sphere lie in the reduction of administrative expenditure. With regard to the administrative bodies, a certain amount of work in this direction has already been done as you see. Well, perhaps there is still some work to be done, but there have been some improvements nevertheless. At enterprises, however, the administrative personnel have not only not been reduced, but have even increased.

Investigations at enterprises in various sectors show that the organizational structure of production administration—the structure and staff of the administration—have in the main remained in the form which existed under a centralized system of administration. Now, having the unlimited right to establish their staffs, enterprises frequently resolve administrative difficulties not

by way of a fundamental restructuring of the organizational structure of the production administration, but by increasing the numbers of administrative personnel.

The Kabelenergo Production Association for example, 26 percent of all those working—that is, every fourth person—is employed in the administrative apparatus. And for every ruble of the wages fund of this association, 37 kopeks go to pay the administrative personnel. As a result, the average wage of an administrative staffer is 2.5 times higher than the wages of all other staffers.

Judging by the letters and press articles, working people see in the bloated administrative apparatus staffs not only an obstacle to improving production and the economy, but also a substantial fund from which it is possible to obtain significant resources for resolving urgent tasks.

The direct influence of the Ministry of Finance on the administrative apparatus is out of the question; this, as you know, is because of the appropriate clauses of the law on the enterprise. If we want, all the same, to exert influence on the administrative apparatus of enterprises, then appropriate decisions by the Supreme Soviet and also appropriate amendments to the law are needed.

You know, the strike committee of the Karaganda coal field for example, demanded that the apparatus should be reduced by 30-50 percent. Well, in our view, this idea deserves attention in principle, and the Supreme Soviet, I think could support it, and call on the soviets of labor collectives to utilize to the full the right, granted to them by the law on the enterprise, to decide on matters of improving administration and to substantially reduce their administrative expenditure. The resources released could be concentrated in a centralized fund and directed to resolve urgent problems. [end recording]

[Semina] Then Comrade Baryshnikov dwelt in detail on the figures of the budget for 1990, responded to many deputies' questions, but, in so far as his explanations appeared insufficiently convincing to the Supreme Soviet, it was decided to invite the Minister of Finance, Pavlov, to meetings of the commission, and this extremely ardent discussion will take place at the start of next week.

The deputies are not entirely clear about the financing of State Acceptance, and the large expenditure on maintaining the Committee of People's Control and other departments aroused doubts, but the increase in financing the Ministry of Internal Affairs was supported by the deputies. These resources will go to increasing the official salary of the ordinary and most junior personnel in positions of authority, and also to the material provision of the law enforcement bodies. The acquisition of 60,000 radio stations [radiostantsiya], vehicles, computing equipment and individual protection resources is planned.

A conference of agrarian deputies is planned in the Supreme Soviet today, on matters of the plan and the budget for the coming year. All representatives of agriculture have been invited although they work in various committees and commissions. I spoke with some of them, and they are all asserting as with one voice that the priority financing and development of agriculture which was spoken about at the first Congress of People's Deputies and in the first session can't be detected in the draft plan and budget which has been presented.

This causes the agrarian deputies alarm. I think that today's conference will be very serious. [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Azerbaijan Adopts Law on Sovereignty

LD0510190289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The TASS correspondent has sent a report from Baku. The Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan has adopted a constitutional law on the sovereignty of the republic. It is published today in the local press.

Azerbaijan, it says in the law, is a sovereign socialist state within the USSR. The competence of Azerbaijan is limited only in matters which have voluntarily been delegated by the republic itself to the USSR. The sovereignty of Azerbaijan extends over all its territory, including the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which are inalienable parts of the union republic. Its territory, the law stresses, cannot be changed without the agreement of the republic, expressed in a vote by the people in a referendum of the whole population conducted by a decision of the Supreme Soviet. Frontiers with other union republics can be changed only by mutual agreement. Azerbaijan, the law confirms, retains for itself the right to withdraw freely from the USSR, this being carried out by means of a referendum. The land, its soils, forests, waters and other natural resources are national riches and the state property of the republic, and belong to its people. The Azerbaijani language is declared the state language. However, the free use and development of Russian and other languages of the population are ensured. In accordance with the law that has been adopted, the republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states.

Military Units Reportedly Arrive in Armenia

LD0610114289 Hamburg DPA in German 1118 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Signs have increased today that the Kremlin leadership has decided to use the military in Armenia and Azerbaijan. As a spokesman for the Armenian Foreign Ministry in Yerevan told DPA by telephone, the first units are said to have already arrived in the Caucasian republic to protect rail links.

The Supreme Soviet had given the government emergency powers in case the blockade of Armenia by Azerbaijan is not ended by Monday. According to these powers, tunnels and bridges are to be guarded by the military and Interior Ministry special troops.

The Armenian Foreign Ministry spokesman stated: "The situation is getting worse and worse. Not a single train arrived in Armenia from Azerbaijan yesterday and today." The disputed autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh could not be reached by land at all. The railway through the neighboring republic of Georgia is being used to double capacity.

Popular Front of Azerbaijan Recognized

LD0610115189 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] The Popular Front of Azerbaijan gained official recognition yesterday. This was confirmed by the officials in the Azerbaijan permanent diplomatic mission in Moscow whom Radio Moscow World Service contacted by telephone. Earlier the Azerbaijan parliament adopted the sovereignty law on the republic, stipulating that the land and mineral resources were the property of the people of Azerbaijan and reserving the right to leave the Soviet Union after a referendum.

Effect on Blockade Viewed

AU0610104089 Paris AFP in English 0959 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 6 (AFP)—A Popular Front formed in Azerbaijan has won official recognition from the local authorities, which could open the way to lifting an Azeri blockade of the Trans-Caucasus railway line, an official in the republic disclosed Friday.

Local television had broadcast news of the front's formal registration, he said. Combined with publication Thursday of the laws concerning Azerbaijan's sovereignty, it meant there was a possibility of ending the two-month rail blockade against neighbouring Armenia, the official said.

Armenia normally gets 85 per cent of its imports on the line.

Sources close to the Front said leading members had left Friday for areas bordering Armenia to try to persuade railway workers to stop their campaign.

The Azerbaijani Communist Party negotiated late into Thursday night with Front leaders about conditions for ending the blockade, with particular reference to letting through fuel produced in Azerbaijan.

The sovereignty law was voted by the Azerbaijan parliament on September 23. The Soviet news agency TASS reported that it stipulated that the land and mineral and other resources were the property of the Azerbaijan republic, which reserved the right to leave the Soviet Union after a referendum.

Azerbaijan and Armenia have been at loggerheads all year because the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave in Azerbaijan wants to be joined to Armenia. The enclave has an Armenian majority.

Decision on Strikes 'Stern But Necessary'

PM0610105189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS Correspondent S. Zharkov article: "Urgent Measures Introduced: Our Comment on the USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution"]

[Text] Will there be light, heat, and bread in every home this winter? This question, which you would think emanated from the times of destruction, the Great Patriotic War, has again risen to confront our country head on. At a joint session of the chambers 3 October the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on urgent measures to ensure the uninterrupted operation of rail transport and the base sectors of national economy which was the only realistic measure capable of ensuring that industry and housing are provided with energy and that people are supplied with grain and prime necessities during the winter. The situation was so difficult that the management of the Transcaucasus railways is being entrusted where necessary directly to the Ministry of Railways and the protection of individual sections is assigned to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Defense.

Here is the information from the USSR Ministry of Railways (the ministry's report was distributed to deputies at the session): On the Azerbaijan and Transcaucasian railways the work of transport is being blocked, tracks torn up, bridges blown up, and trains fired on. During August and September 32,000 freight cars of food, fuel, and construction materials failed to reach Armenia, which has gravely complicated the rebuilding work in the earthquake zone. In Abkhazia in July, paramilitary rail subunits which were guarding tunnels, bridges, and special freight traffic were disarmed. Carloads of freight bound for Armenia traveling in individual trains on the Azerbaijan railroad are being sent back. All trains passing through Azerbaijan into Georgia are being stopped and cars containing fuel and food are being uncoupled. The Ministry of Railways has been forced to ship as much freight as possible for Armenia via the Adler, Sukhumi, Tbilisi, and Sadakhlo route which is already extremely congested with passenger trains. The Azerbaijan railroad has effectively left the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Railways...

Serious complications have also been caused by the miners' strikes. In July more than 7 million tonnes of coal were not dispatched, which in turn disrupted the system which ensures the ideal distribution of freight cars and the supply of cars to the coal producing regions. The coal industry hasn't returned to its normal rhythm

even now. Furthermore, when an engine driver goes out to his train women and children lie across the track to prevent the train leaving. The logical question is: Why should trains be used as pawns in the solution of national disputes?

The situation in the metallurgical industry has become so critical that the real situation is hard to imagine. Thought must now be given to closing enterprises because the entire stock of coking coal is sufficient for only 3 days' work.

On 2 and 3 October deputies sought a solution to the situation which has been created. Various viewpoints, sometimes completely opposing ones, were expressed. But the majority of the speakers proposed that common sense rather than emotions be the guide when resolving a problem of such importance for the country's entire national economy. It was stressed that the path of confrontation where attempts are made to establish who is right and who is to blame should be avoided—that will not produce a rational solution regarding the strikes, blockades, and other extreme actions which are leading to the destabilization of the situation in the country. Measures are needed to establish order, speakers believed. However, opinions divided on the nature of those measures—extraordinary or urgent measures, as the draft resolution presented by the government said.

The disruptions to the work of rail transport which have been aggravating the complex economic situation in the country are leading to vast shortfalls in the supply of foodstuffs, energy sources, and consumer goods. The sharp decline in discipline, the strikes, and the interethnic conflicts have gravely disrupted the economy and brought it to danger point. We all know that rail transport, the power industry, the coal industry, metallurgy, and petrochemicals are the backbone of our economy. They must not be the hostage of political passions and national ambitions. That is why the USSR Supreme Soviet decision to adopt urgent measures to prevent the unlawful actions which are disrupting the work of transport and on banning strikes at enterprises in transport, the fuel and energy complex, metallurgy, and the chemical industry are stern but necessary actions aimed at stabilizing the country's economy, especially during the winter period.

Ministry Reports on Transcaucasian Situation

LD051022468 9 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The press center of the USSR Ministry of the Internal Affairs reports:

The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. The situation in the republic remains tense. The movement of railway transport with freight for Armenia through the stations of (Idzhedvan) and Norashen has not been resumed. A total of 171 freight trains are standing idle, 89 of them of Armenian destination. [passage omitted]

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The situation still remains complex. The blockade is continued. A total of 43 motor vehicles—including 13 with foodstuffs and 27 with national-economy goods—were escorted by military detials on the territory of the oblast. There were no freight trains from Agdam to Stepanakert. [passage omitted]

The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. The situation remains complex. A total of 21 freight trains with a total of 603 cars, including 101 tanker cars with petrol, fuel and fuel oil, and the others with building materials, came into the republic via the station of Sadakhlo of the Transcaucasian railway. [passage omitted]

A law has been promulgated, adding a new article to the criminal code of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The article, 141.1, lays down penalties for violation of the equality of languages. This addition to the criminal code was the logical continuation of implementation of the recently passed language law, and in particular of Article 35 thereof. It states that violation of the equality of languages expressed in a hostile attitude to any national language, or degradation of the honor and dignity of citizens from linguistic motives, or the artificial creation of obstacles or restrictions to use of the languages, such as to infringe the constitutional righs of citizens, is an offence and can be a criminal offence. The legislative act is intended to warn people against the manifestation of nationalism.

"Vremya" Views Nagorno-Karabakh

LD051023098 9

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 5 October, in its "Vremya" newscast, broadcasts a report from Nagorno-Karabakh by correspondent Ye. Kiselev. Kiselev begins by noting that the entire population seems to be reading the newspapers in the early morning. The political situation and the blockade understandably leave no one indifferent, he says. "Passions are running high, and the local press, too, sometimes whips up emotions. We, the "Vremya" program, come in for it too: the SOVETSKIY KARABAKH newspaper said on one occasion—and I quote—that the "Vremya" program could be said to have become the mouthpiece of Azerbaijan and is helping to whip up tension further.

"However, my impression is that the main reasons for the situation in the oblast lie elsewhere—in an outburst of intolerance which at times borders on frenzied fanaticism, in an uncritical attitude to one's own acts, both on the Armenian side and the Azerbaijani side, and in an unwillingness to compromise. Meetings sometimes flare up for the slightest reasons in front of the building housing the Special Administration Committee. Everyone comes in for it, including the committee itself. Reproaches, including unjust ones, not infrequently are directed toward the committee. But when problems arise, people nevertheless go not just somewhere or other, but to the committee itself."

While the video shows angry faces and clenched fists, people gathering outside building housing the committee, and then the waiting room inside the committee building, where petitioners are waiting. Kisilev says: "Thanks, in many respects, to the committee's efforts, the strike in the oblast was brought to an end."

Kiselev then reports from the Stepanakert condenser works, where assembly work is shown in progress. During the blockade, however, he says, a great deal of output has been stockpiled which customers are waiting for all over the USSR: the country's national economy has been daily losing R32 million a day in lost production because of lack of condensers from Stepanakert. The refugees are still living in dreadful conditions because housing construction has been halted in Stepanakert, and Azerbaijani refugees in Shusha and elsewhere are no better off. A charitable society, (Amaras), has been set up in Stepanakert to provide food for the refugees: every day 150-200 people are fed here free of charge.

Over video of an aircraft being unloaded, Kiselev reports that freight is arriving from Armenia, voluntarily contributed by Armenian citizens. The (Amaras) society plans to build houses for the refugees in the autonomous oblast. But life is still going on, he notes. Weddings are being held, and military bands play; the old men still gather in the squares to gossip, but doubtless the topics of conversation are different. "The only thing that is clear is that the way to resolve the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh lies by way of genuine self-governent, democracy, and real people's power in the oblast. Yes, it is very difficult to achieve all of that, especially in the present situation," Kiselev muses. As he departs by air and flies over the beautiful region he asks why is it not possible to live in peace there?

Newsprint Supply Shortage 'Serious'

LD0610084989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] A warning signal from Petrazavodsk: the flood of telegrams from publishing houses in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Yerevan, Tallinn, and other cities of the country to the Kondopogabumprom production association, one of the largest suppliers of newsprint in the country, is not abating. Their representatives are demanding and imploring the leadership of the enterprise to deliver paper to them urgently. Otherwise, in 1 or 2 days, the issue of newspapers will be curtailed. A serious situation has arisen in the association in delivering paper to consumers.

Since the beginning of the year it has owed printing trade workers over 5,500 tonnes of newsprint—no less than three railway trains. The reason is the interruption of the delivery schedule of wagons and the shortage of cellulose which the Selikamskiy cellulose pulp paper combine delivers to Kondopoga. Not everything has been thought through in planning. For instance, this year, the state order determined that the association produce 5,000 tonnes more paper than last year while the cellulose reserves allocated were 2,000 tonnes less. The ministry should think that over and lend the enterprise all the aid it can so that it stops being a debtor.

People's Control Official on Railways

LD0510171189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1300 GMT on 5 October broadcasts a 4-minute interview with Vladimir Panteleymonovich Bazhenov, deputy chairman of the USSR people's control committee. Bazhenov laments the transportation losses of the Soviet Union's railways: "Last year, as a result of theft alone, railwaymen lost R16 million that's what they paid by way of compensation. The railways' losses from damaged goods in the first half of this year were R7.2 million and increased by 50 percent."

During a recent check of the country's southwestern railway, "outrageous" statistics have been revealed, Bazhenov says. Over the half year there have been 52 cases of theft in storage yards. In 1985, 35 criminal groups were exposed who committed 67 robberies. This year a group of five people were arrested who had carried out 10 thefts at the cargo yard of Khmelnitskiy station. Almost 70 percent of cargoes were not accompanied by guards during transportation.

Theft is also a cause for concern on the Eastern Siberian Railway, on the southern railways—the Alma-Ata and Transcaucasian Railways—and on the Sverdlovsk Railway.

Bazhenov describes the situation at ports as serious. Wagons stand idle so that foodstuffs and industrial goods cannot be moved punctually. Approximately 2,500 tonnes of tea is currently lying in ports and in ships awaiting transportation, as well as amounts of sugar, washing powder, breadgrain, rice, and more than 200,000 tonnes of large and small diameter pipes. The main cause of the situation is the failure by customers to collect their deliveries. In the Moscow area, for example, 1,500 trucks were needed to shift goods from the railway stations, but only 800 or 850 are in operation at present. This applies to other regions too. In Tyumen oblast 325 wagons stand idle every day simply because customers do not unload them punctually.

The People's Control Committee has dispatched 11 brigades to 11 railway lines to check around 40 of the worst regions in the country. The brigades are made up of specialists from the Ministry of Railways, the Ministry of the Coal Industry, Gossnab, the State Committee for Petroleum Products and the Ministry of the Chemicals and Petroleum Refining Industries.

Azerbaijan Paper Hits Western Press NKAO Reporting

LD2109194889 Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 6 Sep 89 p 2

[Article: "The 'Eastern' Policy of Western Correspondents"]

[Text] Azerbaijan has recently turned into the focus of attention of the Western press. The internal political life of the public is rich in events, and for this reason there are things to say, and a reason for expressing these views and thinking. As in the whole country, Azerbaijan too is not going through easy days, and complex processes are going on in our society. And it is not easy to clarify all of these. Not only for the correspondents who have come from the other side of the ocean and for a while live in an elegant hotel, but also for ourselves—it is so!

Let us consider the No 1 subject—the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] problem. There is no need to mention the sense of restraint and caution that is required in approaching this national trauma. And it is not inappropriate to recall that objective information could help the public, including the international public, to understand the question, to prepare an appropriate way to solve it and at least to dampen passions.

So, what has the democratic and independent press, say, of the United States done? For the time being, its only achievement is the U.S. Senate adoption of the known statement on the situation in NKAO. G. Lee [as transliterated], correspondent of THE WASHINGTON POST; U. Keller [as transliterated], THE NEW YORK TIMES' correspondent, and E. Cooper [as transliterated], correspondent for the National Public Radio company, who are accredited in Moscow, have played an active role in giving wrong information to the United States and world public. It is no secret that they have close contacts with the most reactionary Armenian emigres circles. They have still not conveyed reports about their many meetings with the most varied strata of the population of the republic in August and September 1988, and Azerbaijan's view on Karabakh dispute, to Americans. In the reports no information has been given about the position taken by the republic's leadership on this question, and about the efforts they make to unravel the difficult knot of Karabakh.

Generally, one thinks that the tone of the materials they provide are established in advance. Bearded people who want to chase Azerbaijanis out of their ancestoral lands are allegedly Armenian patriots, while Azerbaijanis who do not wish to lose NKAO are merely fanatic Muslims. Let us not be excessively carping. Everything can happen in the practice of journalists. Many foreign correspondents claim that they really want to learn about the situation. Come and let us believe these words. The above-mentioned U. Keller, recently in the memorable August days, once again appeared on the streets of Baku. This time he was accompanied by Alexandra Avakyan [as transliterated], a photographer for THE NEW YORK TIMES. In the opinion of people who arranged Keller's trip, Alexandra's presence would give an objectivity to Keller. We must point out here that our poor nonofficials had invited the U.S. correspondent to Baku. We believe that they do this with good intentions—with the intention of giving objective information about Azerbaijan to the world public. But there is a point—wishing alone is not sufficient for acting like this. For this reason, you must, as a minimum, understand the nature of Western information organs, you must be aware of the ideological and political tendency of their representatives. Furthermore, you must understand many, many, other things. An impartial propagandist who is more or less familiar with the nature of the work of THE NEW YORK TIMES, can realize in advance that efforts to publish an objective report on Azerbaijan in its pages will absolutely be in vain. In Keller's articles one could reply only on confirmation of the fact that his colleague was not torn to pieces by "Azerbaijani thugs." What can I say? Thank God for this!

Attempts of the nonofficials of Baku to attract the attention of the pair of correspondents, ended with the fact that this pair of correspondents, after staying for a few hours in Baku, Agdam and Shusha, immediately came to Stepanakert and for 3 days had contacts with "the Karabakh public who have suffered misfortunes" there. And then they went to Yerevan by plane! Yes, it is obvious that in bringing to light the events around NKAO one does not need to rely on objectivity of some Western correspondents. When Pilar Bonet Cardona, correspondent for the Spanish newspaper EL PAIS in Moscow, was in Baku in September 1988, she did not even find it necessary to hide the fact that she favored the Dashnak groups in the West and keeps in contact with them. For this reason, it is not suprising that the articles she has published in the pages of EL PAIS do not at all call for reconciliation, and in fact sow the seeds of hostility between nationalities.

In the reports by Sophie Shihab [as transliterated], correspondent of the Moscow Bureau of AGENCE FRANCE PRESS there is not even a sign of the desire for understanding its position, let alone favorable words about the Azerbaijani side. Furthermore, in the French journalist's materials, not only is the information about the republic distorted, but even people who are interviewed—representatives of student organizations—have compromised themselves.

To spread such news, it is not necessary to use the services of a reliable agency like AGENCE FRANCE PRESS. There is no shortage of such scribbles in the press centers of innumerable Dashnak organizations in Paris, and of the organization which had recently been created there and is headed by Paruyr ARikyan whom we know very well—the Center for Coordination of the National Democratic Movements in the USSR.

British correspondents work in a different style. Materials and radio broadcasts prepared by them are overflowing with talks with representatives of unofficial organizations of Azerbaijan and with references to their important statements. One might think, you could not get more objective than this—the voice of the people! However, the Armenian section of "Radio Liberty" broadcast a report by a British correspondent recently stating that at the meetings in Baku demands were put

forward about release of all Azerbaijani criminals. However, neither the People's Front, nor anyone else has demanded this, or put it forward in Baku. It is funny to say this. But, in our time, any self-respecting organization will not declare its sympathy for criminals. Then what is the aim of spreading such a cheap radio lie? A big brain is not required to reach such conclusions, while attempts are being made to belittle all the other demands put forward by the republic's public, which indeed took place and are to a large extent legitimate. It remains to be added that the only foreign journalist who was in Baku during this period, was Jonathan Lyons [as transliterated], a correspondent for the REUTER agency (Britain). It must be pointed out that on 14 august, the People's Front presented his participation in the meeting to the people gathering at the meeting, in such a pompous way that one would think that they were talking about a UN representative, to say the least. At least, the world public will find out about the demands of the Azerbaijani side, so they say! Yes, they did...however, the interesting side of the matter was the fact that those who have invited J. Lions to Baku could not be unaware of the tendency of the REUTER news agency which he represented. Incidentally, you do not need much to know this. It is sufficient to familiarize oneself with the reports of Susan Cornwell, another REUTER agency correspondent. In these reports the interests of the people of Azerbaijan are being completely ignored in showing the so-called NKAO problem.

Let us speak openly. In the conditions of a certain shortage of information about events in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, efforts by the People's Front to find additional channels to convey these reports to the Azerbaijani public and foreign public, is wholly natural. The Front's wish to give information about the real situation in the solution of the NKAO "problem" fabricated by extremists, is also natural. But is it worth acting on the principle of "we will receive help from abroad" of Osap Bender?

One could think that everything is still clear to see: No, they will not help! This will even give the reverse result. But whom are you telling this? On 2 September, organizers of the regular meetings invited nearly the whole army of correspondents to the meeting. Baku square had probably never known such a number of video cameras and microphones, even for the arrival of the most distinguished guest. Yes, the press services section of the People's Front of Azerbaijan had done an excellent job. But what about the results?

As a result, the same THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote: "Participants of the meeting demanded that in Nagorno-Karabakh an administration consisting of Azerbaijanis be introduced..."

The following statement was given as an example by the Voice of America radio station: "Young journalist Arif Aliyev, said that deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet from Azerbaijan and Central Asia, are merely instruments in the hands of the CPSU...They hinder all initiatives of radical deputies from Moscow, Leningrad and Baltic republics."

It must be pointed out that these were given on the basis of reports by the above-mentioned Keller. And then the radio station explains: "As is known, Muslims, of Azerbaijan, as well as of Iranian Azerbaijan, are Shiites, while a great majority of the population of Central Asia are Sunnis."

To put it briefly, correspondents raise a hue and cry in the whole world that these so and so Azerbaijanis do not calm down at all. And do not wish to consider at all legal demands and sincere feelings of the people of old Astrakh who have suffered many misfortunes. In one word, the Muslim world from the foot of the Caucasus to the sands of Central Asia have risen up. The reason? The reason for that is that "Turkey is more to their liking." And now these Azerbaijanis with their disobedience are threatening not only NKAO, but also Moscow itself, demanding "an end to colonialism."

In short, the whole world is in a mess....

Of course, Aliyev and others, who in front of the microphones of the foreign correspondents regarded themselves as national heroes, will be dying to issue details. In other words, they will say: "We did not say anything like that. They have not understood us." However, what can one say here? Like what poor Meshadi Ibad [the leading character of the operetta Melshadi Ibad] who said to his friends and acquaintances who brought a bride for him: "Before they bring the bride, why do not they look to see if she is a man or a woman?"

CPSU Politburo Meets 4 Oct; Various Issues Viewed

PM0610102989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 6 Oct 89, p 1

["At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. At a routine sitting, which took place on 4 October, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo considered the results of the September 1989 Central Committee plenum. During the discussion, in which the first secretaries of the Central Committees of the union republics Communist Parties took part, it was pointed out that the plenum had been an important landmark along the road of the practical implementation of the policy of perestroyka. The plenum had come out in favor of the consolidation of the party and the whole of society through the accomplishment of the integrated tasks of renewal; and had emphasized the need for vigorous action and constructive work. It is precisely from these starting points that party committees and primary party organizations are urged to approach the implementation of the plenum's decisions.

Preparation for the regular, 28th CPSU Congress is a matter for the whole party. Now, in the runup to the congress, it is necessary to advance and to carry out restructuring consistently in all areas of public life, thereby expanding and strengthening the potential of socialism. The party is to considerably invigorate its work among the masses and to make stricter demands on those Communists who are coping poorly with their obligations and display sluggishness in the struggle for perestroyka and for the ideological and political unity of the party. The principles and values of socialism must be a constant reference point for the CPSU.

Preparation for the party congress must be conducted with the highest degree of glasnost, resting on the views of party organizations, communists and the public at large. For this purpose, it is important to make use of intraparty ties, living contacts with people, and the mass media. Party organizations must broadly and constructively discuss the whole spectrum of issues connected with the party's life and activities in present day conditions.

Attention was drawn to the need to perform a large amount of creative work while preparing the pre-Congress documents, and primarily the CPSU's political platform and new party rules, bearing in mind that they must be documents marking a substantial step forward in developing the party's strategy and tactics, defining its place and role in society, and improving its forms and methods of work. They must rest on the experience of perestroyka and stimulate a deepening of it. It was considered expedient to involve the commissions of the CPSU Central Committee in this work.

The Politburo has charged the Central Committee Secretariat with working out a program of concrete actions to achieve the clauses of the CPSU platform "Party Nationalities Policy in Present Conditions" and with ensuring, in accordance with aims of the Central Committee plenum, maximal consideration of the ethnic factor in all organizational, political, ideological and personnel work.

While assessing the sociopolitical situation in the country in the light of the CPSU Central Committee plenum decisions, the Politburo stressed the necessity for energetic actions in all areas of the socioeconomic sphere and increasing the personal responsibility of cadres for the state of affairs. In connection with this, attention was drawn to the importance of carrying out a cadres policy corresponding to the present state of society and the tasks of perestroyka.

In this interconnection the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with a group of workers and kolkhoz members belonging to the membership of the central electoral organs of the party were examined.

The Politburo discussed the progress of work to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. All Soviet people have responded to the disaster which struck the Armenian people. It was noted that through the general efforts of working people and the party and soviet organs of the union republics, krays and oblasts, and minstries and departments of the USSR, work has been carried out to set up a basis of the building indstry to restore Armenian towns, villages and enterprises destroyed by the earthquake which makes it possible to construct them at a rapid rate.

At the sitting of the Politburo the attention of the party, soviet and economic organs, ministries and departments of the USSR was drawn to the serious deficiencies in the solution of vitally important problems and the fulfillment of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the restoration of housing and other items in the social sphere, industrial enterprises and agriculture.

The Politburo has approved the results of the conversation and negotiations of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with Suharto, president of Indonesia. It was noted that new qualitative parameters have been given to relations between both countries by the Soviet-Indonesian meeting and the accord reached in the course of it. A major step has been taken which will determine their further development in all areas for a considerable time to come. In this connection the fundamental significance of the statement signed by the heads of state on the foundations of the friendly relations between the USSR and the Republic of Indonesia was noted. The constructive exchange which took place between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Suharto corresponds to the interests of not only the Soviet Union and Indonesia, but also the tasks of improving the situation in the Asian and Pacific region and in the world as a whole.

Having studied information on Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with Georges Marchais, general secretary of the French Communist Party, the Politburo noted with satisfaction that the traditional dialogue between the CPSU and the French Communist Party is gaining a new scope and creative character, coincident with the processes occurring in the world, based on the coincidence of views of both parties on current international issues and concern for the further development of Soviet-French relations. French communists' unequivocally expressed support for perestroyka is highly valued, embracing the general understanding of the necessity of the renewal of socialism and the revelation of its creative, democratic potential.

The Politburo discussed the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The negotiations were useful and constructive. They furthered the dialogue between the USSR and Great Britain on the key problems of international politics and bilateral relations. Although a number of substantial differences in the sides' positions remain, in their policy the trend toward mutual consideration of approaches to European and world affairs is growing in strength. The efforts to construct one's practical line in such a way that it does

not bring harm to the security interests of other states has helped to create a peaceful period in international relations.

The British prime minister demonstrated profound interest in the development of the processes of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and understanding that these processes, dictated by the requirements of the development of Soviet society, are also having a positive effect on the whole progress of European and world politics.

The work of the CPSU delegation led by Comrade Medvedev to the conference of secretaries of the Central Committees of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries on ideological issues which took place in Berlin has been studied and approved. The conference presented the opportunity of exchanging opinions and experience on the current issues of the fraternal parties' ideological work in building socialism, discussing ways of further consolidating and developing bilateral and multilateral cooperation and making it more effective. Soviet ideological establishments have been given the task of implementing the conclusions of the conference.

The Politburo listened to Comrade Yakovlev's statement on the conference of secretaries of Communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries on international issues which took place in Varna from 26 to 27 September and approved the work carried out by the CPSU delegation. A decision was adopted which ensures the implementation of the practical measures and accords which were agreed on at the conference.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Session Opens 5 Oct

LD0510142389 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1300 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Excerpts] A session of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet is taking place today in Tallinn. It is chaired by Enn-Arno Sillari. During the discussion of the agenda, a proposal of the Council of the Elders was taken into account, and the first reading of the draft law on citizenship was abandoned. The discussion of the draft law on citizenship was thereby postponed.

Twelve points remain on the agenda, including four draft laws. They are draft laws on citizens' ethnic rights, on Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet elections, on trade unions, and on the foundations of local governments. There also will be several speeches and questions from deputies.

The floor was first given to Arnold Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He gave a report on the first point on the agenda, which deals with the 16 August USSR Supreme Soviet decree that terms some provisions of the Estonian SSR law on local elections as not being in agreement with the USSR Constitution.

Arnold Ryuytel presented a draft resolution consisting of two points. The first is not to apply Section 1 of Article 2—with regard to residency requirements—of the law on elections to local soviets of people's deputies, which was adopted on 8 August 1989, during the elections for the Estonian SSR local soviets on 10 December 1989. This section dealt with the establishment of a 2-year residency requirement for voters. The second point is bringing the electoral law in line with the law on citizenship once a law on citizenship is adopted. This draft resolution was adopted with 172 votes for and 63 against.

During the morning session, the people's deputies discussed several draft laws, including the draft laws on the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet elections, trade unions, and citizens' ethnic rights. It was decided to submit the draft laws to public discussion.

The sixth point on the agenda dealt with the draft law on the foundations of the Estonian SSR local governments. Speaking on this issue, Indrek Toome, chairman of the Council of Ministers, said this is a very important law from the point of view of implementing a self-managing Estonia, with actual governing to be transferred to localities. The people's deputies decided to submit the draft law on the foundations of local governments to public discussion.

Election Law Overturned

PM0510164989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 First Edition p 2

[Own correspondent I. Teterin dispatch under the rubric "Reporter at the Teleprinter": "Time of Mature Decisions"]

[Text] Tallinn, 5 Oct—A regular session of the republic Supreme Soviet opened here yesterday.

Deputies are to consider the draft laws on citizenship, on trade unions, on basic principles of local self-management, on individual farming, and so forth. However, probably the most important problem facing the parliamentarians today is deciding how to settle the constitutional conflict which has arisen in connection with the adoption of the Law on Elections by the previous session.

After numerous consultations the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium has proposed to the parliamentarians that they repeal the article of that law which speaks of a residence requirement while leaving the law itself in force. And so it has been decided by 172 votes (with 63 against and 7 abstentions) to hold the elections to the local soviets on 10 December 1989 on the basis of universal suffrage.

What has this vote shown? It has shown that the majority of deputies are convinced today that the future of perestroyka in Estonia depends directly on the stabilization of the political situation. After all, the republic's transition to economic accountability lies ahead. The deputies have adopted an addendum to the republic

Supreme Soviet standing orders. This includes a number of fundamental innovations. The parliamentary activities of deputies' groups are provided with a legal basis, for instance, and the procedure for readings of draft laws and for introducing changes to the agenda is defined.

The session continues.

Vyalyas Comments on Session

LD0510214289 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 5 Oct 89

[From the "Echo of the Day" program]

[Excerpts] We will begin with today's most important event here in Estonia. Gunnar Paal will survey the work of the [Estonian] Supreme Soviet's session today. [passage omitted]

[Paal] How does Vaino Vyalyas [Estonian Communist Party first secretary] rate this and today's other resolutions?

[Begin Vyalyas recording] [passage omitted] I would like to say one thing outright. Naturally, amendments may cause and undoubtedly do cause different reactions. Some people will view them as a retreat, as giving up what we have been striving for since last June and (?our) 11th [party] plenum [in September 1988]. I will voice my opinion. It does not by far mean this and it cannot indeed mean it. The issue is only that some problems interfere at the moment with a political compromise that must also be found.

It has not at all been guaranteed that even with the preparation of our resolutions and with their adoption we will not make any mistakes or misses, either juridical, political, or even contravening international law. And when we then amend one or the other, then it will not pay to label it instantly as a retreat. The law [words indistinct] and the law will be implemented but a law cannot have a retrospective force. In essence, for our political life it indeed means so little in its practical expression that it does not influence it one bit.

I would like to explain—and this was also demonstrated by the Supreme Soviet session—how the deputies reacted to this. There was understanding because the law that has been prepared collectively will retain its force. Solely in one point its implementation will be postponed because it is indeed not in agreement with both legal and human rights norms. How can we leave those people who have been voting together with us without a right to vote? In the future, however, naturally the new Supreme Soviet and the new electoral law will put things in their right places. [end recording]

[Paal] The Supreme Soviet today altered the regulations on the organization of its work. Its regulates debates which lately have become heated. The central topic, when this subject was under discussion, was what should the majority of votes be in case of differences of opinion. The principle now stands that it must still be two-thirds, and not four-fifths or three-fourths as proposed. [passage omitted]

Information was heard about the progress of the public discussion on the law on farm-steading as well as information about the work of the commission which was to draw up historical and legal assessment of the events which took place in Estonia in 1940. This question, towards the end of the day, heated passions. Finally it was decided to approve the work of the commission with 171 votes for. [passage omitted] The session will continue its work tomorrow.

Impact of Moldavian Rail Strikes Assessed

PM0510133589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by own correspondent Eduard Kondratov under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Own Correspondents at the Teleprinter": "Strike's Bitter Tally"]

[Text] Kishinev—About 6,000 loaded cars in transit to the USSR have accumulated on the railroad sidings of the Socialist Republic of Romania because the Moldavian railroad cannot accept the trains. At its border stations of Reni, Ungeny, and Prut 1,800 open cars and refrigerated cars are waiting to be unloaded. They hold containers with clothing and footwear, chemicals, agricultural machinery, equipment for plants, canned goods, and other imports. I should explain that unloading them into Soviet cars is essential because the neighboring countries' railroad tracks have different gages.

Why has such an impressive jam arisen at the border? To some degree this is explained by objective reasons: Every year in late summer when the mass unloading of the grape, fruit, and vegetable harvest takes place, the Moldavian railroad experiences an acute shortage of cars and refrigerated cars for international shipments. And in previous years too up to 1,000 cars would accumulated without being unloaded at our borders on Romanian railroads. But their profusion today is unprecedented. It is the result of the recent strike by workers at the Bandery station locomotive depot.

I stress recent, because in IZVESTIYA (No 276) in an interview with V. Kolesnikov, chairman of the rail transport subcommission of the Soviet of the Union Commission for Questions of Transport, Communications, and Information Science, it was wrongly stated that the Odessa road is being blocked by the Moldavian railroad workers. That is not so: The strike, which lasted over 2 weeks, ended back on 13 September. But its results will have a painful effect for a long time yet.

The serious disruption of the rhythm of the railroad's work, the disorganization of international shipments, and the countless breakdowns in deliveries have caused the country tangible material loss.

The Bendery railroad workers have struck a painful blow to perestroyka. But they have also struck a heavy blow to their own interests. The Moldavian railroad, which is operating according to the second model of economic accountability [khozraschet], has been deprived of R4 million in revenue. It has paid R400,000 in fines alone. The loss of R2 million from the wages payment fund has already affected the wages of the railroad workers, especially the wages of the switchyard workers and other pieceworkers. The strikers have paid a high price in demanding what perfectly well could and should have been sought by parliamentary means. I recall that one of the aims of the strikers was to bring pressure to bear on the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, which has examined the laws on language.

Will the transport agglomerations on the border be dispelled soon? At the Moldavian railroad administration I learned that the tension seems to be starting to ease. Every day now 300 cars are being unloaded at the border stations, but their numbers are already growing. Soon the unloading will reach 9-10 trains a day and then it will be possible to say that work has returned to normal. It is true that the shortage of empty cars is a hindrance. Trains on the Odessa and Moldavian railroads are now moving without holdups.

Youth Paper Reports Protests in Lvov

LD0610102289 Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Tension has grown in the city of Lvov in Western Ukraine according to the Soviet youth daily KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. The paper says the city became the scene of localized public protests after unidentified persons in the city park tore off the traditional yellow and blue Ukrainian flag and upturned a memorial plaque marking the place of a would-be monument to the 19th century Ukrainian poet Taraz Shevchenko. The Helsinki Alliance in the Ukraine and other unofficial groups sent an ultimatum to the city authorities demanding to find the guilty party. Another group surrounded local Interior Ministry headquarters and tried to storm it to force the liberation of one of the detained persons. The authorities claimed they knew nothing about him. As a result of a scuffle more than two dozen people were wounded both among the attackers and police. An investigation of the conflict is underway.

Shcherbitskiy, Ivashko Plenum Speeches Cited

PM0410140989 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 30 Sep 89 pp 2, 3

[RATAU report: "Plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] It was already reported that a Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held 28 September to discuss an organizational question.

The plenum was opened by V.V. Shcherbitskiy. He read out his application to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, which says: "A really crucial and difficult period has begun in our people's life, associated with the practical implementation of tasks to reform society's economic and political system in conformity with the decisions of the 27th congress, the 19th CPSU conference, and the 1st Congress of People's Deputies.

"Consequently, the volume of work and the responsibility borne by each party organization and by each and every one of us for this work's results have increased immeasurably. To my great regret, my age and health no longer allow me to work as required by the interests of the cause. Therefore, I ask the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee to release me from my duties as first secretary and member of the Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Please accept my most profound and heartfelt gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and its Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat for their great trust and comradely assistance during many years of joint work in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers.

"I shall strive as much as I can to make as great a contribution as possible to the renewal of our socialist society."

The plenum participants were then addressed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

The plenum adopted a resolution on V.V. Shcherbitskiy's application, releasing him from the duties of first secretary and member of the Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his application to retire on pension.

The plenum then went on to examine candidacies for the office of first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The discussion of candidacies for the office of first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee came to an end.

The plenum was then addressed by Yu.N. Yelchenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; A.I. Korniyenko, first secretary of Kiev City party committee; and V.A. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. They had been nominated as candidates for the position of first secretary of the Central Committee, but announced that the withdrawal of their candidacies. Concerning the nomination of A.S. Kapto, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, asked that it be rejected in view of the fact that Comrade Kapto has been assigned a responsible mission by the CPSU Central Committee—to head the Central

Committee Ideological Department—and it is not expedient to frequently move people in important sectors of work.

The candidacies of S.I. Gurenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and V.A. Ivashko, second secretary of the Central Committee, were entered on the secret ballot list.

A secret ballot was held. The results were: The votes on S.I. Gurenko's candidacy were 43 Central Committee members in favor and 136 against; V.A. Ivashko polled 136 votes "for" and 43 votes "against."

V.A. Ivashko was thus elected first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee by a majority of votes. The plenum adopted a resolution ratifying the tellers' commission report on the voting result.

The floor was then given to V.V. Shcherbitskiy. He said:

Dear comrades! I would like to add the following to what I already said in my application to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee:

There comes a time in every person's life when he has to appraise the path he has traveled and make an important and by no means easy decision. I made such a decision by submitting appropriate applications to the CPSU Central Committee and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Let me tell you frankly: No matter what anyone says, this was not easy to do after such a long period of intense work, and going on a pension means withdrawing from the frontline. All those years I strove to implement our party's line and worked without sparing either energy or health. A lot got done. For well known reasons, however, we—like other republics—failed to solve many tasks. Many problems—and serious ones at that—have accumulated.

Despite everything, however, I can say with a clear conscience that I always placed the interests of the party and the well-being of the people above all else. We never succumbed to a feeling of complacency, we always focused attention on shortcomings.

For a long time I was entrusted with responsible sectors of work. And I am, of course, morally gratified by the positive appraisal of my activity. I offer heartfelt gratitude for this to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

In this situation, I cannot fail to mention that our country's political leadership and government have been invariably attentive to the Soviet Ukraine and are constantly providing us with great support and assistance.

Whenever we scored indisputable achievements or had to experience serious hardships—and they did occur, especially in bad harvest years—I always encountered mutual understanding and sensed the firm support of members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, its apparatus, and the republic's entire party aktiv. Dear comrades, allow me to express sincere thanks for this.

To continue. I would like to emphasize that ever since I joined the CPSU in 1941 I have worked in collectives of internationalists, whose most important work was to strengthen friendship with all peoples and primarily with the Russian people who are so close to us. Concern for the strengthening of the country's integrated national economic complex, concern for the comprehensive development of the Ukraine's economy, science, and culture have always been a focus of attention by the Central Committee and the republic's government.

Now, when certain groupings are trying to push people down the road of separatism, frenzied nationalism, and chauvinism, I am profoundly convinced that the Ukrainian people will take a firm stand on the positions of internationalism and will augment their efforts to boost the economy's efficiency and people's living standards.

I think that none of us has the least doubt that the Ukrainian Communist Party will complete the responsible work of perestroyka, that it has been, is, and always will be a combat detachment of the CPSU. This is the paramount guarantee of the freedom and independence of the Soviet Ukraine, of our people's happiness and prosperity.

I am profoundly convinced that we are moving in the right direction along the difficult path of perestroyka and of our socialist society's renewal, that the problems which have emerged along this path will be overcome.

I think that we all are sincerely gratified by the fact that this is Mikhail Sergeyevich's third trip to the Ukraine while general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. We wholeheartedly wish him good health and complete success in implementing the set line in domestic and foreign policy.

Finally, I wholeheartedly wish you and our new leader, Vladimir Antonovich Ivashko, successful implementation of the new and responsible tasks facing our republic and country.

As for me, let me repeat that I shall strive as much as I can to make as great a contribution as possible to our common cause.

Thank you for everything, dear comrades.

V.A. Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, said in his speech:

Esteemed comrades! Allow me first of all to express profound gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, to you, esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, to the members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, to the party aktiv, and to the republic's Communists for

their great trust in me. I would like to once more express sincere respect for Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy who, while holding for many years the exacting position of first secretary of the Central Committee, devoted all his extraordinary talents, energy, and creative strength to the cause of the party, the cause of the people. All the best to you, Vladimir Vasilyevich, and many years of health and prosperity. [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev addressed the plenum participants. (M.S. Gorbachev's speech is published in today's issue of the newspaper).

Brochure Features Gorbachev 28 Sep Kiev Speech

LD0610031189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] A brochure entitled, "Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev: Perestroyka, Party, Socialism. Speech in Kiev at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on 28 September" has been released. The brochure has been published by Politizdat [Publishing House of Political Literature].

Lvov Party Officials Criticize 'Informals'

PM1909100189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Own correspondent V. Drozd article under the rubric "Party Life: Reports and Elections": "Remember Your Name"]

[Text] Lvov—It was not my first visit to the Communists at the "Kineskop" Production Association. I know that the Communists at this large collective have not lost their way. Their example is powerful. Their voices are heeded. This impression was reinforced at a report and election party meeting at the vacuum processing section of the cathode-ray tube shop.

The above is all the case, as fitter L. Zemzyulin later noted, because of party group organizer Yu. Sekret. Yuriy Mikhaylovich does not try to shoulder the entire burden himself, but nor does he dodge sore points or balk at spoiling relations with his severe demands. In short, he's a doer.

Working in conditions of economic accountability, the collective has seen for itself how much more advantageous it is to work assiduously and noted the unsophisticated nature of the administrative apparatus and the state acceptance system, which is obsolete in its present form. It has also become clearer to people just how to bring reserves into play. Apart from careful management, it is very important, in the opinion of shift foreman A. Domeretskiy and Repairman V. Yershov, to strengthen work discipline and the responsibility of both workers and specialists.

The discussion about acute problems was not restricted to the shop, it also covered sociopolitical questions. The Communists noted that strikes and rallies will not cut shortages, they will only increase the gaps in people's purchasing power. They are unacceptable to working people. After all, before receiving something, it first has to be earned.

The party group here is on the right path, which is also shown by the results of Communists' reports on the fulfillment of the demands of the CPSU Statutes, by the way in which the candidate stage is organized, and by attitudes to assignments. But the instructions for the party group organizer were unanimous: It would be no bad thing for him to increase his principledness and insistence.

Incidentally, this applies not just to him. All the more so as this is persistently required by the situation in the city and the oblast.

"Who stands to gain from this?" was the question asked by L. Zyulin. "The most fervent agitation campaign is under way in the center of Lvov against party and soviet organs, and unfounded accusations have been made against Communists. Hostility is being openly whipped up between people of different nationalities, and there have been calls not to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the reunification of the western Ukrainian lands with the Ukraine..."

This alarm is well founded. The speakers talked bitterly about the impunity with which the upstart "saviors of the Ukraine" are obstructing transportation, sowing discord in the city, and threatening people's peace and quiet. The impression is being created, the Communists noted in bewilderment, that the leaders of the city and the oblast prefer to pretend that nothing special is happening. Yet delays could cost us dear...

The confusion and concern are understandable. But, in asking such questions, the party members did not restrict themselves to them, as is often the case.

"Every one of us is part of the CPSU," welder V. Koval stated in alarm to his comrades. "This means that in any situation we must act as Communists, remember our calling, and defend party policy. It must be admitted that we are not always prepared for this. But we must learn how to do it. We must be in the thick of things, see everything with our own eyes, and rebuff all kinds of provocateurs who have been given a hearing thanks to perestroyka and are now, like ungrateful children, besmirching our entire history and rejecting the party. Upholding the party is the duty of all Communists. Otherwise, how can they be worthy of the name?"

Yes, the Communists agreed that the time has come when perestroyka needs particularly powerful support from the party's grassroots. All Communists are called upon to be not just the bearers of the ideas of perestroyka, but their defenders too.

"We are learning to pursue the party line among informal associations," Shift Foreman A. Gurka said. "But we have no right to close our eyes to the fact that

certain activists from the 'Lvov Society,' the Ukrainian Language Society, and now 'Memorial' are departing at an accelerated rate from their initially proclaimed objectives, while the societies themselves are sometimes becoming a 'cover' for nationalist forces."

A good aspect of these reports and elections was the clear "shortage" of generalized arguments, superficial promises, and readily acceptable criticism. This was the conclusion reached by the secretaries of primary party organizations who met at the association's party committee.

V. Aprintseva, member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee: "Communists are concerned that the center is taking its time in assessing political events and does not always forecast the consequences of the decisions it makes."

Rejoinder: "Is that rebuke apt? After all, there is a large detachment of scientists and a major writers' organization in Lvov. Why are they doing nothing, and sometimes even playing up to those who are opposed to the party and Soviet power?"

Z. Zachkevich: "We shouldn't moan about the decline in Communists' prestige, we should act. Reports and elections are currently under way in the trade unions. The party committee, after consulting with labor collectives, nominated 10 Communist and nonparty candidates for the post of chairman of the trade union committee. The candidates put forward their programs. We await the results of the direct voting. Preparations for the next local soviet elections have long been under way. People are gauging the 'worth' of candidates—trying to work out whom to trust. I think that the strength of party members lies in their reliance on people. Unfortunately, the party oblast committee [obkom] and city committee [gorkom] are again losing the initiative and losing ground to the informals."

E. Rekhviashvili: "Communists are proposing to enshrine in the CPSU Statutes the right of primary party organizations to recommend secretaries of gorkoms, obkoms, and union republic communist party central committees for election. I believe that this is the right way to get the most popular party leaders into the leadership."

M. Lupiy: "My comrades and I are worried about why the party gorkom and obkom are not calling to account those Communists who preach nationalist views, run the party down, and call for the country to be divided up into separate fiefdoms. After all, the position of the CPSU Central Committee on these matters is firm."

G. Korostyleva: "The situation is now complex, but gorkom and obkom workers continue to prefer to deal with people via the presidium table. I don't understand why they avoid making topical statements in the newspapers and on radio or TV."

G. Sergeyev: "Elections, competitive selection, and certification are, in my view, the way to renew the party committee apparatus. But the new recruits should not be turned yet again into functionaries who never see the real world outside of their papers. The training of party workers also needs to be resolutely improved."

G. Kazko: "The party cannot lose its grip on cadre policy. Elections and glasnost are no obstacle to this. Nor are strict reports to party members. They themselves should decide who should be trusted and who should retire. This provision should be stipulated more clearly in the CPSU Statutes."

A. Melnik, deputy secretary of the association party committee: "In my opinion, the CPSU Statutes should state that party committees at all levels should systematically inform the organization about the questions raised by Communists or party organs at the lower level, the people they have tasked with resolving these issues, and those who have been brought to account for their red tape. This will improve the activeness of party members and the responsibility of the apparatus. This is the procedure we are establishing here. And there is one other conclusion. I have been doing ideological work for a number of years, and I am convinced that this area should be headed by a high-class professional. I realize that this division is rather arbitrary. I think that this too should not prevent the CPSU Statutes from reflecting that each party committee should set up a service to study public opinion, provide recommendations, and forecast the consequences of decisions, along with the need for certain actions. I am sure that such a renewal of our work style will only benefit the prestige and influence of party members."

Readers Criticize Glasnost, Free Speech

PM0610084589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 First Edition p 2

[Yuriy Zhukov roundup of readers' letters: "About Freedom of Speech. PRAVDA Readers Air Their Views]

[Text] In front of me is a pile of letters which have arrived from all parts of the country. They are PRAVDA readers' reactions to articles about the problems connected with the unofficial press, attempts by the political opponents of our system to use certain "informal" publications for their own purposes, and their foreign prompters who are telling them how to conduct anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda in conditions of glasnost and freedom of speech.

You get the impression that this theme left no one indifferent. There are letters from Communists and nonparty people, from professors and workers, from rural and city dwellers. The overwhelming majority of readers express unconditional support for PRAVDA's stance. However there are also letters containing crude attacks on socialism, the party, and its leadership. There are only a few such letters, but they do exist.

Furthermore, staffers from two unofficial publications have come to the editorial office to explain their position. The representatives of one of them stated bluntly that they are anticommunists and went on to expound their political platform: Their aim is to change the present system in the USSR, "not by force," it is true, "but through the organization of civic disobedience."

On the whole the reactions to PRAVDA articles reflect relatively accurately the alignment of political forces with which readers are familiar. Everywhere in the country people actively support the policy of democratization, glasnost, and freedom of speech. At the same time, however, certain people are trying to use this freedom to disseminate anticommunist propaganda.

This fact causes our readers concern. Party veterans in particular—that is those who took part in the civil war, who struggled to fulfill the first 5-year plans, who fought on the fronts of the Patriotic War and rebuilt the national economy in the wake of it—are reacting especially sharply to the abuse of the freedom of speech.

It is impossible to read the letter from 92-year old Communist F. Romashov from Leningrad without being moved. He writes that he "has traveled the thorny path of two revolutions and four wars," met Lenin, and remained true to the cause of the party all his life. Perestroyka is the continuation of October," he stresses. "And those who are attacking it in the pages of their filthy rags would like to reverse the wheel of history. They will not succeed!"

Another Leningrader, A. Starovoytov, a party member since 1931, recounts the terrible things that happened to him. It was in 1936. He was working on a factory newspaper when suddenly he was falsely accused of being a counterrevolutionary, a Trotskyist and Zinovyevite, thrown into prison, and then dragged from camp to camp for many years. Only in 1958 was he rehabilitated. However, all these trials and tribulations did not break his spirit, and now, concerned about the fate of the socialist motherland, he asks angrily:

"Why do we, our party, and the Soviet authorities fail to give a fitting answer to our political opponents? After all, freedom of speech and democracy are not something to be played with. There must be some kind of order in the country. Yet in our country, people who are hostile toward the party and the state are printing subversive slanderous publications on our printing presses and on our paper and then they sell them. I am not opposed to criticism, and I am not against juxtaposing different stances. However, criticism and dialogue are one thing, defamation of our communist ideals and calls for undermining the foundations of our state system, to whose consolidation we have devoted our lives, are something quite different."

"We do not fittingly rebut those who are openly slandering socialism, calling for disobedience toward the authorities, and launching malicious attacks against our party and its leadership." Ye. Marasanova, a party veteran from Troitsk, Moscow Oblast, writes. "And this malicious propaganda does not pass without leaving its mark. I often talk to young people, and it is very painful when I suddenly hear: 'We couldn't care less whether we have capitalism or socialism, as long as we get better pay.' This is the result of deficiencies in our political work!"

"I came across the newspaper SVOBODNOYE SLOVO No 18, which contained a disgusting lampoon ridiculing M.S. Gorbachev," T. Tomchenko, a party member since 1961, writes from Novoaltaysk. "Young people waiting at the same bus stop as I were reading it. I asked them: 'Where did you get this filth, and why are you holding on to it?' And they replied: 'We bought it in Barnaul for a ruble during the city's festival. Don't you like it? Lady, we have pluralism now.' I told them: 'I am by no means against pluralism, but for the sake of what? The mind of a Soviet citizen must be an unassailable fortress. Yet how many of us are prepared to relinquish this fortress without a fight! There is no soap, no butter, no meat, no toilet paper, you can't buy yourself a "cart" (this is how young people refer to cars), hence the conclusion: "Under capitalism I would be better off" '"...

Incidentally, this theme, which the Communist from the Altay has quite rightly brought to our attention, also crops up in some of the letters which we have received. A. Abramov, an engineer from Sverdlovsk, writes for instance: "What difference does it make whether the economic system is described as capitalism or socialism. As long as we live well. Where do people live better—over there or here?"

Comrade Abramov writes that this is a "simple question" and he demands an answer. I agree that it is extremely important to ensure that our mass media inform people, without hiding anything, and without simplifying anything, about life under capitalism. And it is equally important, calmly and thoroughly, and again without hiding anything or simplifying anything, to reveal the causes of our economic difficulties and ways of overcoming them.

It is true that we are still considerably poorer than the most highly developed capitalist countries. It is also true that we could live much better but for the troubles and tragedies which have befallen us. For the eighth decade we are living on the land which we won in the fight against capitalism, yet not one year has passed when we could sit back and take a breather.

Two terrible wars, the horrors of the Stalin years, difficulties stemming from the fact that we are traveling through uncharted territory and therefore have often made and are still making mistakes; yet despite all this there is the amazing transformation of poverty-stricken and illiterate Russia into a superpower. Does all this not testify to the great viability of socialist ideas?

The authors of many letters rightly chide our mass media for not writing enough and with sufficient skill about the path which we have traveled, and for sometimes

swinging from one extreme to another: In the past they wrote about how wonderful everything is "here" and how bad everything is "there," and now we are writing about how wonderful everything is "there" and how bad it is "here." In the past it was said how sterile the tsarist system of prerevolutionary Russia was, and suddenly we are beginning to write about what outstanding statesmen the ministers around the tsar were, and even that he himself was not all that bad. "It is necessary also to note the positive features in his activities," writes A. Chernyak from Moscow, for instance.

Some PRAVDA readers, in their desire to put an end to the dissemination of anti-Soviet propaganda, insistently recommend that administrative methods of struggle be restored, despite the fact that our party and government have renounced them once and for all, embarking on the road of the democratization of society.

Muscovite L. Gontar, for instance, rebukes PRAVDA because in an article about the abuse of the freedom of speech by a certain section of the unofficial press we did not demand that the publishers of anti-Soviet newspapers and magazines be prosecuted under "criminal law." And Comrade Gik from Astrakhan goes even further, demanding that "instead of putrid liberalism we restore the true dictatorship (!) of Soviet power." And what is more, A. Kirilin from Krasnodar seriously proposes that "following the example of America of the fifties" we brand the publishers of the unofficial press who print anti-Soviet articles as "agents of foreign powers."

I must say straight away that the overwhelming majority of PRAVDA readers do not support such extremist proposals, and, what is more, condemn those who advocate a return to administrative methods. It is all the more important, however, as many letters note, to decisively step up ideological forms of struggle against our political opponents.

"It is painful and offensive to hear people talking about the party 'losing its prestige,' 'losing its base,' and such like," N. Osadchiy writes from Alma-Ata. "The critical appraisal of the mistakes and miscalculations of the party apparatus must not be extended to the party as a whole. Yet we ourselves, every Communist at his post, furnish a pretext for such sweeping assessments by failing to denounce the negative phenomena in society with the necessary political fervor. We do not go and talk to people, we do not expose the political adventurists who are using democratization and glasnost for their own purposes, but look on silently, wondering where it will all end."

V. Chistyakov, an engineer from Ulyanovsk, has sent us a long, agitated letter in which he criticizes the work of party organizations on the ideological front. The content of the letter is aptly expressed in its title: "Attack, rather than look on without defending ourselves." Readers R. Grigoryev from the Moscow Oblast village of Rakhmanovo, A. Prigolovko, a worker at the ventilation equipment plant in Staryy Oskol, A. Sukharev from Sverdlovsk, and many other write in the same vein.

Serviceman V. Tsaturov rightly notes that frequently our own press involuntarily plays into the hands of our political opponents by tolerating inexcusable inaccuracies in assessments when responsibility for mistakes and even crimes committed by people with party cards in their pockets is placed on party officials in general, and even on the party as a whole.

He demands that our press should provide more extensive coverage of the activities of party leaders "at the very top, but also down to the city and rayon component," so that everyone is able to see "who is who," and the party and its officials are judged on the basis of objective information rather than satirical articles about bribe-takers and corrupt functionaries. "Otherwise it appears that no matter where you look there are problems, and what is more, it seems that the entire party is to blame for all the sins," he points out.

V. Cherepakhin from Rostov-na-Donu, reflecting on why our party aktiv is so slow and sometimes also clumsy in getting counterpropaganda off the ground, states that, in his opinion, it is because we did not attend to providing ideological backup for perestroyka in good time. This is the effect of the inertia characteristic of the period when the administrative edict system of leadership was in force:

"Many people thought: We will state authoritatively what is to be said, and everyone will understand what they should do and how. They will understand and do it. But life, it appears, is much more complex—it is necessary to learn to persuade people. And not only to persuade them, sometimes also to dissuade them, to help them rid themselves of misconceptions, and that means that it is necessary to conduct a dialogue with people, and not everyone is capable of this.

"Ideological work was farmed out to ideology secretaries, while first secretaries were occupied almost exclusively with economic matters," Comrade Cherepakhin writes. "Underestimation of the importance of ideological and educational work was a characteristic feature of the period of stagnation. And now? No major changes for the better are as yet perceptible."

Despite all this PRAVDA readers are by no means succumbing to pessimism. On the contrary, the argue that the current row created by the political opponents of communism who have stepped up their activities in the country in an effort to make capital from our economic difficulties will ultimately lead to their exposure. F. Demin from Kemerovo cites a characteristic example:

"There is no denying that the prevailing situation is serious," he writes. "However, it would be wrong to overestimate the influence of our noisy opponents. The turbulent days of our miners' strike come to mind. I recall a large rally in the city on Ploshchad Sovetov in front of the oblast party committee building 15 July.

People were stating their demands, raising burning questions. The tone was rather critical. Having gotten wind of this, functionaries of the so-called "Democratic Union" tried to exploit this and turn the rally against the party and the Soviet authorities. They brought along their literature and started distributing it, and they were very eager to get to the microphone. However, the miners immediately sent them packing. They confiscated their literature and chased them from the rally. People feel instinctively who their friends are, and who are masked enemies. And neither these gentlemen nor their foreign patrons who are backing their propaganda with radio broadcasts will succeed in turning the country to look toward the past. History does not move backward!.."

A correct assessment. Notheless, it is impossible not to agree with those PRAVDA readers—and they represent the vast majority of those who have sent in their reactions—who argue that the current situation in the country calls for resolutely stepping up the party offensive on the ideological front.

The publishers of the underground rags are already complaining to their like-minded foreign friends. "They want to persecute us. We are threatened with terror." Terror? No, citizens, you will not succeed in playing the part of victims and martyrs. But do not expect total license either! Glasnost and democracy are by no means a game in which you can have it all your own way. The defenders of Leninist ideas, the defenders of perestroyka will counter your malicious demagoguery with weighty arguments. The front of the ideological struggle is now assuming special importance. And letters to PRAVDA eloquently reflect this.

Commission Says Bribe Case Halted 'Prematurely'

PM0510154389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 6

[A. Stepovoy report: "Congress Commission Continues Investigation"]

[Text] A routine session of the commission created by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies to verify materials linked with the activity of the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigation group headed by T. Gdlyan was held 4 October. It heard clarifications from Colonel A. Dukhanin, section chief in the KGB Investigation Department; Lieutenant Colonel V. Karabanov, senior investigator for particularly important cases of the KGB Directorate for Leningrad Oblast; and Major P. Kurgannikov, senior investigator of the KGB Directorate for Ryazan Oblast; who participated in the investigation of cases relating to bribes in Uzbekistan. Their clarifications mainly related to the criminal case involving V. Smirnov, former chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, former secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, which was halted by a USSR Prosecutor's Office ruling 4 months ago.

Findings on this case by a group of commission members and experts enlisted by them were also read out at the session. People's Deputy N. Strukov familiarized those present with their conclusions.

After an exchange of opinions the congress commission members reached the unanimous conclusion that the criminal case involving V. Smirnov was halted prematurely and unjustifiably.

Then, behind doors closed to journalists, the commission examined an organizational question. A decision was adopted to make the commission's leadership collegial. R. Medvedev, N. Strukov, and V. Yarin were elected to be the three cochairmen of the congress commission.

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Gorkom on Self-Management

PM0310143789 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 89 p 1

[MOSTASS report: "What Form Should Self-Management Take? In the Moscow City Party Committee"]

[Excerpts] Bluntly speaking, the question which provides our headline was preceded by another: Should Moscow have territorial self-management at all? Actually, it was purely rhetorical—none of the participants in the 27 September enlarged sitting of the Moscow City CPSU Committee [gorkom] Bureau had any doubts about the need to widely involve the capital's population and public in the development of neighborhoods, their social environment, and the provision of amenities on their territory. Attended by first secretaries of rayon party committees [raykoms], it discussed the question of political and organizational work by the capital's CPSU raykoms on the development of territorial self-management.

Today, just before the local soviet elections, this extremely important question is becoming a political issue. L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, said on opening the conference. The party Central Committee plenum which ended a few days ago emphasized the need to persistently solve social and other questions of Soviet people's life and to aim for a radical breakthrough for the better in all matters of daily life. The development of local self-management should help in solving many acute problems. It must be based on the previous Moscow Gorkom Bureau decision on Moscow's transition to relations of economic accountability, the law on our capital's status which is being drafted, and the experience of the best rayons which was discussed at the recent seminar of CPSU raykom first secretaries.

A.V. Lukyanchikov, chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Soviet Work Department, delivered a report at the sitting. [passage omitted]

The businesslike and keen discussion, L.N. Zaykov emphasized when summing up the results, showed that this question is really pressing. The people have become involved in society's political life and wish to be masters of their own destiny. This is an unquestionable success by perestroyka.

Not all Muscovites are yet aware of what is being done, and how it is being done, for their benefit and for the improvement of their living conditions and daily life. Not everything is moving smoothly, and it has become apparent that the crisis phenomena are very deep-rooted.

We must go among people, patiently explain the essence of our policy, and prove that we are right. It is necessary to rebuff all who wish to divert people from the path of perestroyka along the muddy tracks of demagoguery. Only specific deeds—and this is what we are working on—are capable of producing positive results. We must attract Muscovites into the joint solution of the capital's social problems.

Local soviet elections are coming up, and candidates must be judged by their deeds rather than by their words!

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau adopted a resolution which, taking the debate into account, suggests that organizational and political work by the city's Communists be channeled into creating the necessary conditions for development of organs for territorial self-management by the population, and that support be given to Muscovites' initiative in seeking new forms of work in neighborhoods and satisfying the residents' urgent social, economic, and cultural requirements.

Moscow Stores Leased to Private Individuals

LD0510222589 Moscow TASS in English 2037 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—Some of Moscow's state-owned shops are being leased to private individuals. The Moscow City production-and-trade association (Mostorg) held a registration today of people wishing to lease loss-making shops specialising in sales of consumer goods and foodstuffs.

Leaseholders will be granted complete economic independence. They are entitled to conclude deals with production associations and organisations specializing in the same field. They can also offer dealer services and participate in joint ventures.

It is expected that the economic interest of leaseholders in the end product of their labour will ensure dependable organisation of trade and high-quality services to the population.

The leaseholders will have to face just two binding conditions—they must retain the specialization and ensure the profitability of the shop they lease.

The state distribution network associations operating in Moscow will provide to fresh dealers favourable terms of lease pay off for the first year of their operation. Financial assistance will also be provided at the outset.

The bulk of Soviet shops and department stores are state-owned, the remainder is run by cooperatives. Various forms of family and team contact sectors appeared recently in state-owned department stores but they were largely dependent on the store management and the city or district retail trade administration.

News Briefing Held on Situation in Abkhaziya

LD0510213589 Moscow TASS in English 1851 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—Crimes committed during nationalistic turmoil in Soviet Abkhaziya topped the agenda at a news briefing at the Soviet Internal Affairs Ministry's Press Centre in Sukhumi today.

The ministry's teams and the Soviet Procurator's Office are investigating into 104 cases involving more than 200 criminal episodes. 21 cases have already passed to the court.

Those who voluntarily turn in arms will not be prosecuted for illegal possession. However, more than 2,000 fire arms and 3,000 explosives have not yet been returned and could cause accidents, officials said.

The arms could be also used by criminal elements and extremists.

The briefing was attended by representatives from the Soviet, Georgian and Abkhazian Procurator's Office, the Soviet and Abkhaziyan Internal Affairs Ministries, local party and law-enforcement bodies.

Tajik Party Chief's CPSU Plenum Speech

PM0410124189 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 24 Sep 89 p 4

[Unattributed account of "Speech by K.M. Makhkamov," first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, "at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 20 September 1989"]

[Text] A frank and constructive discussion on interethnic relations in our country and the ways to solve the problems accumulated in this sphere has gone on for several months now. But it became especially specific and objective following the publication of the draft CPSU platform on the party's nationalities policy in present-day conditions.

All aspects of this fundamental document were actively and keenly discussed also in our republic, because the problems stemming from various still unsolved aspects of the nationalities question which have urgently arisen recently in various regions of the country also exist to varying degrees in our own republic and originate from the republic's economic and social position.

Everyone knows that labor resources finding no employment in the social production sphere are increasing at a very fast pace in Tajikistan, as in other Central Asian republics. They already amount to more than 200,000 people. In this context the question of siting cotton processing and light industry enterprises and other labor-intensive production units in the republic has been repeatedly raised with the country's planning organs.

As a rule, however, this was not supported by union organs. This is what happened with the decision to build a series of spinning and weaving enterprises, as envisaged by the basic guidelines for the economic and social development of the USSR in previous 5-year plan periods, for 1986-1990, and for the period through the year 2000, which were adopted by the 27th party congress. To this day, 90 percent of the cotton fiber produced is shipped out of the republic.

Furthermore, the producers of raw cotton, who are engaged in hard and exhausting labor, receive payment which is miserly by today's standards. The price review is taking too long.

All this arouses dissatisfaction among the population and causes fresh problems which often acquire an interethnic overtone. The evening up of initial conditions for the republic's transition to the principles of self-management and self-financing is one of the most acute problems.

The expected scale of the involvement in the national economic sphere of the rapidly increasing labor resources of Tajikistan and all Central Asia is so large that a general state program for the area is simply indispensable. Such a program should envisage the training of skilled cadres for newly created enterprises at the local level.

We believe that there could be various management systems at the local level, and their formation should take place on the basis of the republic's real conditions and with greater economic interest for local soviets in developing union enterprises.

It is only through the optimum expansion of the rights of union republics and other national-territorial formations that we will be able to really build strong republics and a strong Union.

The draft CPSU platform quite rightly talks about restoring justice for repressed peoples. However, in our view, deformations in solving the nationalities issue were reflected not only in the deportation of whole peoples, mass repressions, and the ignoring of economic interests. Voluntarism and mistakes were committed in defining the national territorial boundaries of both union and autonomous formations.

This, of course, should not be seen as a demand to revise boundaries. Nor should we dodge the questions raised by life itself. I am thinking of the resolution of issues connected with the fullest satisfaction of the spiritual, linguistic, cultural, and other needs of people living outside their national-territorial formations.

Our republic has created and will continue to create all the necessary conditions for the successful development of the languages and culture of Uzbeks, Kirghiz, Turkmens, and other nationalities living in Tajikistan. To that end the utmost use will be made of opportunities for creating national-territorial rayons and rural and settlement soviets in areas where there is a high concentration of representatives of certain nationalities.

As regards the results of national-territorial demarcation and the clarification of borders associated with it (since 93 percent of the republic's territory is made up of mountains, and there are only 0.11 hectares per person), it must be said: For some reason the central authorities have recently often avoided examining such matters, leaving, as a rule, the resolution of any friction that arises to the local authorities. It seems that, in many instances, the solution of these questions is simply impossible without participation by central organs, including the country's Congress of People's Deputies.

Here is another example: It would seem logical that every citizen's passport should indicate his actual nationality.

Some Tajiks living in Uzbekistan were once entered in their passports as Uzbeks. Over the last few years there have been many requests from them for their actual nationality to be restored on their passports. But we are in no position to grant these requests, since this is the exclusive prerogative of central organs. We have raised this question on numerous occasions, but nonetheless it remains unresolved to this day.

A very important point is that the draft platform raised from a position of perestroyka the question of the CPSU's role and place in the conditions in which our federation is being filled with real political and economic content. We wholly support the conclusion that it is fundamentally unacceptable for the CPSU to be split along national lines. The party has been and should remain international in makeup, ideologically and organizationally united, and with a common program and statutes.

At the same time, the expansion of union republic Communist Parties' rights, the retreat from daily tutelage and patronage on current issues, and the independent resolution of the main issues of party life as regards cadre, financial, and economic matters, up to and including the adoption of political documents in the spirit of the CPSU Program, will result in a real and substantial increase in the authority of union republic Communist Parties, enhance their leaders' responsibility for the decisions they make, and enrich the party with new approaches in the implementation of the tasks of society's revolutionary renewal.

During the preparations for this plenum numerous meetings were held in Tajikistan with working people and the

republic's Communists. One of the questions heard very frequently at these meetings related to ensuring representation for nations and ethnic groups among the top components of party, state, and economic administration. This was mentioned at the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

So, what has changed in the last year? In our opinion, no notable improvements have been seen in this area. Tajikistan has in practice been virtually unrepresented or poorly represented in the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee, central soviet, trade union, and All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] organs, foreign missions, union law-enforcement organs, and so forth. And what is the outcome? We are talking about equality of nations and ethnic groups, about our living in a single common home, but we do not always participate in the management of this home.

The republic's working people assess all this as indicating a lack of attention to the republic's cadres, and at times it makes them mistrust many decisions originating from the center. It is time, to create real conditions to ensure proper representation for nations and ethnic groups in all components of the country's management organs while, needless to say, taking account of people's businesslike and professional qualities. This could help improve interethnic relations.

It is hard to implement perestroyka in interethnic relations unless we radically change all work for the international education of the masses, particularly young people. Distortions in nationalities policy have affected this sphere very severely. Sloganeering, window dressing, and short-term campaigns have severely damaged the cause of international, patriotic education. Owing to our shortcomings in ideological work, the natural process of growing national self-awareness has led in places to an intensification of nationalist sentiments and a devaluation of socialist moral values.

Learning lessons from the mistakes of the past, Tajikistan's party organizations are striving to fundamentally restructure obsolete forms and methods of work for the population's international education.

In short, today it is taken for granted that interethnic relations, the country's federative structure, and many other spheres of our sociopolitical life need improvement.

But we are convinced that all the accumulated and urgent problems of our federative state can and should be resolved through the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society without violating our union's integrity.

In this context, I would like to express a personal view.

Recently there has been tension on nationalities questions in virtually all republics. In order to resolve these questions better and more effectively we need one condition—we must have more trust in each other. I considered it necessary to say this because this evidence of a certain lack of trust can be seen very often in our lives and at this plenum.

This is particularly noticeable when we are discussing events in the Baltic. For instance, I am sure that the comrades will be able to cope with the situation and will resolve their questions within the framework of our union. This was, after all, said at this plenum by these republics' leaders.

The main point is to ensure that the decisions being made today are backed by precise organizational work and start being fulfilled from the very first day, otherwise we will again waste time to hardly any effect.

The sense of being a united family with a united national economic complex should not leave us for a minute. We must ensure common happiness in our common home together, through the joint efforts of the entire Soviet people.

Belorussian Constitutional Amendments Adopted

18001573 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 18 Aug 89 p 1

[Resolution of the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet "On Draft Belorussian SSR Laws 'On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Main Law) of the Belorussian SSR,' 'On Elections of Belorussian SSR People's Depaties,' and 'On Elections of People's Deputies of Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Belorussian SSR'"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To submit draft Belorussian SSR Laws "On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Main Law) of the Belorussian SSR," "On Elections of Belorussian SSR People's Deputies," and "On Elections of People's Deputies of Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Belorussian SSR" are to be submitted for discussion by the entire people. They are to be published in republic, oblast, and Minsk city newspapers.

2. The executive committees of the oblast, rayon, city, settlement, and rural soviets are to ensure careful registration and collation of proposals and remarks concerning the draft laws made in the course of the discussion.

3. To establish that collated data on the course of discussion of the draft laws and on the content of proposals and remarks are sent to the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet on 28 August, 4, 11, 18, and 25 September of 1989:

a) by executive committees of oblast and Minsk city soviets of people's deputies concerning the proposals and remarks:

—made at the meetings of labor collectives at enterprises, sovkhozes [state farms], kolkhozes [collective farms], organizations, offices, educational establishments, and meetings of citizens at their places of residence;

—contained in the letters of citizens sent to local soviet organs;

—contained in the letters of citizens sent to local press organs, radio, and television, as well as in the statements of citizens in the local press, on the radio and television;

b) by the command and Political Administration of the Belorussian Military District, Western Border District, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Belorussian SSR and the Committee for State Security of the Belorussian SSR concerning the proposals and remarks made at the meetings in military units and offices;

c) by the republic organs of the press, radio, and television concerning the proposals and remarks contained in the letters of citizens sent to these organs, as well as in the statements by citizens in the press, on the radio and television.

4. To entrust the Commission for Legislative Proposals of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet with considering the proposals and remarks made in the course of the discussion of the above drafts by the people and making corresponding proposals.

5. To set up a collation group for the registration, processing, and collation of proposals and remarks on the draft laws reaching the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet. To draft for such work employees of relevant scientific and research facilities, higher educational establishments, ministries, and offices, with pay at the place of principal employment preserved.

To entrust the management of the group collating materials reaching the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet to the secretary of the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

6. Executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies, leaders of ministries and departments, enterprises, offices, and organizations are to ensure that all proposals and remarks by the toilers submitted in the course of the discussion of draft laws which concern the issues of improvements in the work of specific sections of state, economic and sociocultural construction are considered in a timely manner, and that the measures necessary to implement them are taken.

[Signed] Chairman of the Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet N. Dementey

Secretary of the Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet L. Syroyegina

16 August 1989, city of Minsk

Potential for More Vorkuta Strikes Noted

18280285 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by S. Lushchikov, Komi ASSR deputy minister of justice, USSR people's deputy: "Origins and Lessons"]

[Text]**Sytyvkar-Vorkuta—The strike in the mining cities has been halted, yet the atmosphere of tension it created has hardly blown over yet. This is also felt in the Polar Region's Vorkuta. I visited here quite recently. I wanted to compare with real life my impressions of the the basic statutes of the draft Law on Strikes, since I had participated in its preparation as a member of the working delegate group.**

I spoke at length with V. Tareyev, leader of the city strike committee, with committee members P. Belyayev and V. Samsonov, and with many miners, party members, soviet, and economic leaders. There were both heated debates, and agreement reached.

It seems to me that the labor conflict here in the Polar Region gives the most vivid impression of the origins of the strike. The main thing is the neglect of the people's interests on the part of the command-bureaucratic apparatus. Tell me, for example, what bureaucrat in Moscow would dream that Vorkuta is not the Far North, that its miners may be deprived of the hard-earned privilege of getting provisions from "Glavsevertorg" by a stroke of a pen? In the Arctic Region, what is it like to live in "pre-fissured" barracks, when even after 30 years' work in the earth one is still not guaranteed an apartment with amenities? In the summer, it is impossible to leave for vacation from here—there is no normal train station or airport. There is no theater. Getting to the movies is not easy.

All of these are symptoms of a social crisis, an especially striking one, in this cruel climate. Not only the miners have it hard. A public bathhouse appeared in the railroad workers' microrayon only recently. More than a single dozen families of track builders are still living in train cars to this day.

These facts were not news to the management of the coal branch which dominates here, and other concerned departments. With SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA's help, the social problems of the city above the arctic circle were summarized and set forth in meetings with their managers while the editorial board was open as a "post office box." I compared the demands of the striking miners with those proposed at meetings 5 and 2 years ago: There is one-to-one correspondence, as they say. However, the absolute majority of these just demands had not been satisfied. The matter was limited to promises and bureaucratic excuses.

There are, of course, other, no less serious causes for people's dissatisfaction. Economic perestroyka gave them the opportunity to forge their own well-being. The miners had also counted on this. And what did they get?

The labor collectives turned out to be deprived of economic independence. The associations' excessively overblown apparatus had assimilated all their rights. For appearances, they created a united STK [council of trade unions] under the upper echelons of the bureaucracy. What is surprising is that even the decisive stance against such "perestroyka" on the part of the sector 9 miners at the "Severnaya" mine in the spring of this year did not bring the apparatus to its senses. Silence was also maintained at both the CPSU gorkom [city committee] and obkom [oblast committee]. Moreover, after that first strike, the branch managers did not draw any conclusions. They continued to persuade the strikers that staff "democratization and reduction" were being carried out for their own good. The result? Worker embitterment, and their complete mistrust of the apparatus' goals.

The strike laid bare the wide gap between the party gorkom and the gorispolkom [city executive committee] on the one hand, and the workers on the other hand. Of course, it did not form yesterday, but it had not been noticed; people tried not to notice. Profound alienation also emerged between the workers' collectives and the administration of the "Vorkutaugol" association. It is no coincidence that neither the party gorkom nor the ispolkom [executive committee], not to mention the administration, could become mediators in the dispute between the workers and the Ministry of the Coal Industry. This was not even within the power of the party obkom. People only believed documents signed by M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov personally.

Given all this, I must note that the miners' bitterness and mistrust with regard to the city authorities is hardly ever justified. To a great extent, it was the central department leaders who "inserted" local leaders. Could it be that the former city fathers did not beat at the bureaucratic walls, obtaining solutions to pressing social problems? Could it be that V. Kurskikh, former party gorkom first secretary did not request that the newspaper conduct one more meeting at the "post office box," since the previous promises had not been kept? Could it be that V. Dudko, the current gorispolkom chairman, did not take up residence at the thresholds of numerous Moscow offices in order to remind the bureaucrats of the promise they had made to the people? Even if something had been accomplished in Vorkuta, it would have only been due to such pressure.

Yet it is also true that the local leaders are hardly without sin. They did not provide the party assessment for the unfurling of economic perestroyka. Here the workers pointed evaluations are absolutely justified. In the city they are also coming to terms with manifestations of bureaucratism, red tape, and the numerous violations, if not abuses, in trade. The strike committee members detected this time after time during the raids. Let us take the ideological sphere. During the strike and after, the miners keenly felt how their lack of economic and legal knowledge hampers their public activity. What then is the cost to our economic compulsory education, the entire system of political education, and professional training?

I left Vorkuta with a sense of alarm. It was caused by the preserved mistrust toward and tension concerning all the interrelations among the workers and city leaders. It is manifested in many things, and must be overcome as soon as possible. Yet how can this be done most correctly? The city leaders of Inta and Vorkuta have not found anything better than publishing their peculiar manifesto of justification in the press. In response, the strike committee sends a refutation to the newspaper ZAPOLYARYE. The editorial board just had to publish a conversation with association chief economist A. Tsurupaya about how Moscow examined the miners' demands, and how a pamphlet appealing for a boycott of the newspaper was circulating the city. The examples of this mutual misunderstanding are eloquent.

The Arctic Region's miners' strike moved to the foreground of public life more than a few outstanding, sincere people who care for the cause and have authority in the workers' environment. Today, they rise to the leadership of many bankrupt trade union committees; tomorrow, they head the councils of labor collectives and become people's deputies. Do they understand that the entire heavy burden of of responsibility will lie on their shoulders? That tomorrow, their mistrust of leaders will turn against them? I was convinced that far from all of the strike leaders recognized that fulfilling their demands (even though they are justified) also means that with simultaneous efforts, they have managed to "hog the blanket." But after all, it is our only blanket, and that means someone will remain uncovered. True, certain strike activists have already perceived this. "So, are we going to demand a salary of R1,700 or not?"—one strike committee member from the "Yun-Yaga" mine writes to the newspaper. V. Poletskiy: "Are we going to stand by the fountain and demonstrate to all other strata of society our right to this salary? Think again about the points of the demands, while holding a pencil in hand." N. Sokolov, chairman of the railroad hub strike committee, also understood this. He did everything so that the engineers who morally supported the miners' strikes did not strike themselves, even though the engineers have it no easier.

Unfortunately, far from everyone showed responsibility. The miners all around know their rights, but are not always prepared to acknowledge their responsibilities. There is a confusion of rights and responsibilities even in the strike committee charter. Let us take the strikers' attempts to take upon themselves responsibility for preserving public order. It is one thing to detain an alcoholic beverage speculator, and quite another to batter his car in a rage.

How does the draft Law on Strikes look in light of what was seen and heard in Vorkuta? It is completely clear that the cumbersome procedures of examining labor conflicts at the factory require revision. The system of

creating reconciliation commissions and labor arbitrators should also be revised. The desire to resolve these problems on the foundation of trade union committees does not seem well-grounded to me: their authority is already painfully low within the work environment. In my opinion, the councils of labor collectives must be emphasized. In each concrete case, it is necessary to provide for a determination of the level of blame for a strike, especially an illegal one, both on the part of the managers and the workers themselves. And receipt of damage compensation is obligatory. The greatest rights for preventing strikes belongs to the organs of Soviet power, both those on the scene and higher ones as well. Afterall, labor conflicts affect both regional and general state interests, and they must be regarded in a manner befitting the state.

Ingush People's Congress on Nationality Issues

LD1909111189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] [Announcer] The 11th congress of the Ingush people has been held in Groznyy, capital of Chechen-Ingushetiya. [video shows congress logo: Second Congress of Ingush People 1919-1989]

[Correspondent T. Aliyeva, identified by screen caption] Eight hundred delegates and guests of the congress from different areas of the country listened to the main report: on the social and political situation of the Ingush people in light of the CPSU draft platform on the national question. The leitmotiv of all the speech was the idea that you cannot build the happiness of one people at the cost of infringing the rights of another people. And again, that the command-administrative style of leadership, that does not take the people's opinion into account, has caused a mass of complex problems between nationalities. The only way to solve them is a calm, thought-out dialogue, and not discord and enmity between fraternal peoples.

The congress resolution expresses the desire of the people for restoration of an autonomous Ingushetiya, which existed until 1934. The congress was addressed by scholars, party and soviet workers, and deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet. [video shows meeting in hall, speakers; street scenes of people talking together; Aliyeva interviewing delegates during a break]

[Begin recording] [Aliyeva] The congress has completed its work. What do you think of its results?

[V.A. Pisarenko, People's Deputy, identified by screen caption] Here we had the legitimate demands of the people to have their own things: their own land, their own motherland, their own language, their own history. And we know today that without history there cannot be a present and still less can there be a future. [end recording]

[Aliyeva over video of congress meeting] At the final session the delegates unanimously confirmed the text of the appeal of the Ingush people's congress to the forthcoming second congress and second session of the Supreme Soviet and plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on national questions.

Statistics on Aid to Developing Countries

18070352 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 39, 30 Sep-6 Oct p 2

[Text]**What is the overall volume of the Soviet Union's economic aid to developing countries?**
[Signed] **V. Arkadyev, Saratov**

Information on this matter was presented to Soviet and foreign journalists at a regular briefing at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center.

The Soviet Union renders assistance to developing countries in various forms, indicated V.P. Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Administration. Such aid includes preferential credit, grants in aid, equipment cooperation, granting of preferential export-import prices, and preferential transport tariffs.

In 1988 the overall volume of the Soviet Union's economic aid to developing countries, including socialist countries, was more than R12 billion, or 1.4 percent of the USSR gross national product. Work is now being done to improve the calculation methodology for Soviet aid to developing countries, taking the norms of international practice into consideration.

Broader application of new, mutually advantageous forms of commercial-economic and financial cooperation with developing countries are envisaged for the purposes of increasing the efficacy of the aid granted by the Soviet Union. As far as government grant assistance is concerned, it must be rendered on an independent basis and in extraordinary situations. Decisionmaking for granting Soviet aid and loans to developing countries falls within the competence of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

United Workers' Front Deemed 'Unhealthy'

18001679 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 16 Sep 89 p 1

[Article by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent V. Potemkin: "How a Political Club Cheated a Party Raykom"]

[Text] For 2 months now ranking functionaries of the Oktyabrskiy Raykom [rayon committee] of the party have had trouble beating back the Leningraders who have put pressure on them: Why has a leaflet reproduced on a printing machine appeared at some enterprises recommending, purportedly in the name of the raykom, a plan of lecture work for labor collectives by the workers' political club "For Leninism and Communist Guidelines in Perestroyka"? The public has been indignant for good reason because the selection of recommended lecturers in no way complies with the principle

of socialist pluralism, and it is biased. It is recommended that the labor collectives meet with the notorious chemistry teacher Nina Andreyeva (the topic of her lecture is "Evaluation of the Political Situation in Our Country"), with her husband, philosopher V. Klushin ("Trotskiy: Myths and Reality"), with social scientists A. Romanenko ("Class Essence of Zionism") and M. Popov ("Evaluation of the Current Domestic Policy"), and with the critic Lyubomudrov ("The Fate of Culture in Russia")... Among more than 20 lecturers, we also find a consultant of the House of Political Education of the party obkom [oblast committee], L. Rogozin. Many lecturers are activists of a united front of workers recently registered in Leningrad and set up on the initiative of political club workers and their leader, engineer of the Admiralty Association A. Pyzhov.

In the spring Leningraders witnessed the election campaign of A. Pyzhov, who ran for USSR people's deputy. Many were initially impressed by the energetic, aggressive tone of his speeches. However, the people soon understood that the engineer, who at one time introduced himself as a worker because he was a member of a brigade building a residential house, lacks not only political, but also general culture. Peremptory statements, dogmatism, a liking for catchy phrases and offensive expressions were revealed behind the vigorous style of speeches. It was he who allowed himself to lecture in a demanding tone the city leadership at a meeting with the former secretary of the party obkom, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Yu.F. Solovyev. I remember very well how people talked about Pyzhov literally on the day following the TV broadcast as a bold person who was expressing their opinion. However, the results of people's deputy elections for A. Pyzhov showed that his chances to control the consciousness of the masses are not great. Could it be that this prompted A. Pyzhov to create the political club of workers which, by acquiring scandalous popularity in the city, would also gain considerable authority for him?

Today the party raykom is distancing itself from the partisan tactics of the political club and A. Pyzhov himself, who compiled the plan without the knowledge of the party raykom leadership, and on top of this included in it the telephone numbers of the instructor, Yu. Belyakov. Frankly speaking, I suspect that he, Belyakov, sympathizes with the ideas of the political club, and I can even conceive of a person working in the party raykom who does not entirely share the position of its leadership. Moreover, more than just one party functionary in Leningrad is in sympathy with A. Pyzhov and his lecturers, many more.

What kind of practice is this: You declare that the Pamyat Society is patriotic, but does that make you a patriot? Do others outside this movement automatically become unpatriotic? Or enemies of patriots? You call the political club "For Leninism and Communist Guidelines in Perestroyka" and usurp the right to posse s the ultimate truth. The CPSU Central Committee and prominent scholars have been agonizing over the problem of the concept of modern society and its prospects, shying away from lofty words and long-range promises. We have had enough talk and promises in years past. I understand that the leadership of the party raykom cannot control all actions of the political club, but it could have pointed out the pretentiousness of the name. In a conversation I had with the raykom secretary for ideology, T.I. Vasilyeva, she complained: "Certain 'messianic' motifs of the club leaders caused concern, but there was hope that in the process of work and discussions with the social scientists of the political club 'October' we would succeed in actively influencing the development of the political culture of the workers."

As it turns out, A. Pyzhov himself takes an unfavorable stand on the work of the intelligentsia in the political club because it injects a discussion style into its activities, whereas the workers supposedly assemble not to talk, but to make decisions, including decisions on controlling the intelligentsia. But what of the intelligentsia? T. Vasilyeva went on to say: "In the opinion of the leaders of the political club, the club (and on a broader scale, the entire working class) should appear in the capacity of a comprehensive controller of activities of both the CPSU and the country as a whole." Here we go again: Are they recalling thoughts about the victorious "dictatorship of the proletariat?" The club recognizes only the representatives of humanitarian professions who themselves subscribe to the "hard" position. I think that knowing about this concept of the political club from the very beginning, the leadership of the party raykom should have paid much more attention to it.

T.I. Vasilyeva complained about A. Pyzhov: He is not inclined to take into account the opinion of the party leadership, but at the same time prefers to operate on their behalf; hence the adventurist plan for lecture work among labor collectives. Such ideas are dominant in the united front of workers, which has proposed a draft law on elections of people's deputies according to which a majority of the deputies should be elected in workers' collectives. This draft is drawing justified criticism at rallies and meetings in Leningrad. However, we cannot fail to mention that it enjoys powerful support among workers who desire to become the predominant force at any price and to minimize the role and significance of the intellectuals, including those belonging to the party, in our political and spiritual life.

What about the political club of workers? At present, having realized its negligence, the leadership of the party raykom is thinking about how to reorganize the work of the club, how to exert party influence on it, how to draw it into discussion-based forms of work in whose absence it is currently impossible to make correct, or, as is now fashionable to say, balanced decisions. It is interesting who is going to prove to be right: the party raykom or the political club of workers. It is becoming increasingly obvious with every passing day that the processes underway inside the United Front of Workers are complex and unhealthy because they are far from being isolated; they reflect the general situation in Leningrad

and in our country. The party organs simply do not have the right to underestimate and to take a wait-and-see attitude.

PRAVDA Editorial on Cadre Changes, Policy

PM1909093589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Party and Cadres"]

[Text] The placement of forces and selection and education of people have always been a party concern, but today cardinal changes have to be made in cadre policy. These changes are primarily connected with the democratization of the whole of social life, the need to resolutely abandon administrative-edict methods of leadership and management, and the transition to new conditions of economic management.

What kind of changes in cadre policy are now making themselves felt? We are eradicating the formal questionnaire-based approach whereby the same people—often without talent but firmly established on the nomenklatura lists—are transferred from one post to another, thereby impeding the living process of cadre renewal. Openness, glasnost, and competition to fill posts—these are the characteristic features of the practice now being established.

But it would be a mistake to claim that this process is going smoothly everywhere and that the main difficulties are now behind us. It is precisely in cadre work that a mass of problems which will take time and enormous effort to resolve has accumulated. And it is not just that there are people openly opposed to the changes. The main factor, as pointed out at the CPSU Central Committee conference in July this year, is the inertia and great tenacity of old habits and ideas. What are needed are new assessments and a decisive review of forms and methods, which, unfortunately, is beyond some people. The habit of "arranging" people like pawns in a chess game, on the one hand, and the "obedience" that has become established over the years, on the other, are still preventing us from finding the optimum solutions to cadre problems.

Clearly, it is not easy to select and train an intelligent, forward-looking leader, particularly if you consider the rapidly growing complexity and newness of the tasks he has to deal with. It is far simpler to take the course of shuffling and transferring the same old faces within a closed circle. This simplicity is deceptive, however. Whatever kind of personnel we are talking about—party, soviet, or economic—we lose out considerably by drawing them from the narrow circle of tried and tested nomenklatura nominees. Renewing the cadre corps means opening the way to new people displaying a commitment to perestroyka and the ability to bring fresh ideas to the job with which they are assigned. A joint quest and mutual trust between the party committee, primary party organizations, and labor collectives are very important in this respect.

However, there are increasingly frequent warnings in the editorial mail that the opinions of the collective and the party organ on, say, contenders for leading economic work diverge sharply at times. This itself is possibly no disaster. What is bad is something else: The sides cannot reach mutual understanding. There are various reasons for this. Sometimes the collective is wrong: Group interests gain the upper hand and they do not want to accept the "outsider" recommended by the committee, although their own candidates are inferior to him in many respects. In these cases a principled stand must be taken, but without using a peremptory tone. In reality, however, attempts are often made to resolve the issue "from a position of strength": If there are not enough weighty arguments, pressure is used, and people who express a different opinion are punished. Hence the conflicts. They could be avoided if things were done differently: The party approach is to make a thorough analysis of the situation, rely on authoritative people, and use persuasion.

The principle of multiple candidates has recommended itself as an effective method for selecting the most able people. This principle is being increasingly broadly applied both in labor collectives and in soviets and social organizations. But in the party itself this principle is taking a long time to become established. In the last report and election campaign only half of the secretaries of primary party organizations were elected on a multiple-candidate basis, even fewer at rayon level, and only a handful at oblast level. What kind of example is this for society? This kind of totally unjustified conservatism must be decisively overcome. The first step can be taken right now, during the report and election campaign that has now begun in party organizations.

A reliable cadre reserve means a great deal. It is no secret that a formal approach has been taken to this in the past, with long lists drawn up for the report sessions but totally different people being nominated. Changes are now being made in this respect. People are included in the reserve after discussion in the party organization and at a meeting of the collective, with the results of surveys and certification taken into account. But there is still quite a lot of formalism despite this, and not every committee is managing to give up its stereotyped ideas. It was pointed out at a plenum of the Moscow party city committee which discussed the work of the city party organization in present-day conditions that many obstacles to resolving cadre issues were removed long ago but, despite this, some party rayon committees are still being timid and waiting for orders from above. People write in their letters that it is time to abandon the practice whereby a party member is always promoted to even the most lowly of leading positions, sometimes with no account being taken of his practical qualities.

One of the most important principles of cadre policy is that all Soviet citizens must have an equal right to promotion, irrespective of their nationality. This principle is clearly stated in the draft CPSU platform on the nationalities issue. We must seek, it says, representation

of all peoples living in every republic in our country in organs of power and management, the courts, prosecutor's offices, and the leadership of economic and sociocultural institutions—naturally on the basis of people's practical and professional qualities—and their broader involvement in all-union state and social organs.

At the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies it was pointed out—not without concern—that the party has become more lax about calling people to account and that there has been a decline in personal responsibility and executive discipline. The Communist leader uses any excuse to avoid implementing a decision and thereby kills it, while the party committee fails to intervene and avoids publicity and a principled assessment of a narrow departmental or group approach and cases of bad management and parasitism. However strange this may seem, this is done under the guise of combating the edict style of leadership.

Initiative and the ability to lead people and combine the ideas of restructuring with practical action are now the lifeblood of every Communist—and doubly so every leader. In order to cultivate these qualities, cadre policy must be improved daily—the party is responsible for this before the people.

Economic

Obstacles, Solutions to Convertible Ruble Cited

18250212 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 39, 30 Sep-6 Oct 89 pp 5-6

[Report on interview with N. Petrakov, USSR people's deputy and director of the Central Economic and Mathematical Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent N. Zhelnorova—"To Restore the Erstwhile Glory of the Ruble"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Zhelnorova] Soon after the revolution, in terrible poverty, we managed to make our Soviet ruble a hard currency. Now it has been so many years since the war, and we are still without a convertible currency.

[Petrakov] In the 1920's, during the NEP [New Economic Policy], we ourselves introduced the convertible chervonets and within 3 years crowded the old money out by using it. However, at present we would require a civilized merchandise market to accomplish this. Until recently such "ideas" were under powerful ideological attack because the market "ran counter" to Marxism. The market always is in opposition to political ambitions. This is why it was eliminated—because it was a competitor. How soon are we going to be able to create the market now?

The monetary system is the main problem of the market. We want to introduce the market while this system is completely "out of alignment." Money has now appeared which is not covered by the delivery of goods. If market arrangements are introduced at this point, prices will begin to grow immediately. This is the effect of communicating vessels; this happened in Yugoslavia, Hungary, China, and Poland.

[Zhelnorova] How is the monetary market to be cured? How are we to avoid the mistakes of other countries where the level of inflation is high?

[Petrakov] We should switch to a hard currency. It is particularly necessary for the market. We need to introduce a parallel currency which serves the spheres in which live market arrangements are in operation. First of all, these are mixed enterprises. After all, if we want to attract foreign capital the issue of the nonconvertible nature of the ruble immediately arises. Western entrepreneurs do not understand what they are to do with Soviet rubles once they are received as profits.

This is why a convertible ruble system is needed within which the ruble would have a realistic and firm exchange rate against other currencies. (Certainly it should not be as insanely ridiculous as it is now—65 kopecks per U.S. dollar). At present on the "black" market they pay 15 rubles for the dollar. However, this is unrealistic as well; after all, people who are purchasing the dollars do not spend them to purchase meat or milk, but rather equipment for which prices are very high on the domestic market. The difference between domestic and foreign prices is exactly the factor generating this kind of exchange rate.

[Zhelnorova] How is the real rate determined scientifically?

[Petrakov] This is how it is usually determined: A basket of goods is selected and prices for it are calculated first in one currency and then for the same goods in another currency. The ratio of prices amounts to the rate.

In our country, this method is not applicable because our domestic prices are very exotic and do not correlate with world prices. If we select a basket which includes video equipment, beauty aids, and particularly fashionable goods, the ratio will quite probably turn out to be 1 to 15. However, we might also select a different basket which will include bread, rents, and transportation, and then the ratio may be different—0.4 rubles to a dollar. I believe that only the creation of an internal currency market will produce a free rate for us.

The Gosbank [State Bank] and USSR Minfin [Ministry of Finance] should sell currency to any enterprise or cooperative at a freely evolving rate of exchange. Here is why: At present, we distribute our hard currency in a centralized manner leaving to enterprises small amounts of currency, and then only to the ones which have already entered the international market with their goods.

Many of our small enterprises would be able to turn out wonderful products if only they could receive loans in hard currency (or purchase currency at the free exchange

rate) and thus purchase foreign equipment and raw materials and retool their production facilities.

Our finance leadership has now acknowledged that currency auctions need to be held. This is like warming up before you start out because currency auctions are different from the currency market in that a limited amount of currency can be auctioned off, and the rate of exchange depends on this. If you are selling $1 million at an auction there is going to be one rate; and if you are selling a billion it will be completely different. The currency market involves the sale of all currency except the amount the state spends to purchase consumer goods.

[Zhelnorova] To your mind, who should have the right to purchase the currency first of all?

[Petrakov] To begin with, everybody without exception, including foreign and mixed enterprises and foreign banks. It could be that private individuals will be excluded at the first stage, which, however, should end quickly. All the more so because the enterprises which are capable of manufacturing competitive products should have an opportunity to pay a segment of wages to their collectives in hard currency.

[Zhelnorova] Because at present there is no control over the issuance of money (emission), the amount of rubles will grow without any limit. What is to arrest inflation?

[Petrakov] If we were to introduce the convertible ruble it should have two rates: One against foreign currencies, and the other against the soft ruble.

It has to be stable in order to instill confidence. This is why the emission of the convertible ruble should be strictly controlled by the finance organs. We cannot print "more of them" as is now the case with the soft ruble. Otherwise, devaluation and a drop in the exchange rate of both monetary units will begin immediately.

[Zhelnorova] How is the rate of emission of convertible rubles to be determined?

[Petrakov] The volume is determined by the availability of foreign currency inside the country. If we begin to print more hard rubles than the bank has in foreign currency we will go bankrupt.

[Zhelnorova] Have you calculated the ratio between the amount of foreign currency available in the country and the money which can be offered in exchange for this currency?

[Petrakov] If we now introduce a partial currency market, then, taking panic buying into account, we will arrive at a superinflated rate of currency exchange; it may be even higher than 1 to 20.

[Zhelnorova] Is this why you want to eliminate this surplus money through the auction?

[Petrakov] It is better than the speculation which we have now. The best form of combating the "black" market is legalizing it, making it "white."

I believe the state loses much hard currency (I mean the new intake of it) because it has failed to set a realistic exchange rate of the ruble against foreign currencies. The dollars which the state could get go to the "black market" operators. If exchanging money at a rate of 1 to 15 were set up in hotels, why would a foreign tourist look for a man in the street?

[Zhelnorova] However, the issue of the regular, or, as you put it, soft ruble, will remain; a majority of the people will not be able to take advantage either of the market or the auction because quite a few do not have extra money to burn. How is our regular ruble to be made stable?

[Petrakov] We may go the way we did in the 1920's—discredit the soft ruble entirely (begin printing as many of them as possible). However, this should not be done because this will affect the people who do not produce competitive goods or have fixed incomes (retirees, students, the handicapped).

[Zhelnorova] However, we have already embarked on this path by deciding to pay hard currency for above-the-plan grain to kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms].

[Petrakov] On the whole, this is a correct decision. After all, if you cannot buy the goods you want with your money, nobody is going to work. However, this solution—paying for grain in gold—also has its problems.

The first problem is: Why grain, of all things? Do we not procure meat as well? And what are we to do with the oil men of Tyumen who just pump the dollars but have nothing? Why should we not pay any enterprise manufacturing competitive products which we miss so badly?

The concept is like this: If an enterprise manufactures products which meet the needs of our market and the imports of similar products can be be reduced, some of the savings thus received (in hard currency!) should be transferred to the enterprise. This should be the case for all goods.

[Zhelnorova] However, the grain was a beginning, and other products will follow.

[Petrakov] We should not have begun with grain at all. It is an unfortunate example.

First of all, procurement for hard currency had to be announced before the sowing season. Under current circumstances, they will just harvest what they can, so why pay in hard currency? It would have made sense to announce this in the spring when the farms could have influenced the harvest.

[Zhelnorova] Apparently the payment will go toward reducing losses. After all, one-quarter of the harvest,

exactly the amount which we purchase abroad, is lost due to our unprecedented mismanagement.

[Petrakov] We cannot pay hard currency for reducing losses while enterprises which "produce dollars" are in the hole.

Second, all kinds of abuses are possible with grain.

This is exactly why I believe that a system of hard currency for all needs to be introduced urgently. After all, the farms which will receive hard currency as soon as the fall will want to purchase reliable agricultural machinery for it. Where? Abroad. However, our machinebuilders are already telling them: Why are you going to take your currency abroad if we are going to make what machinery you want in return for it? This may be the case with foodstuffs, clothing, furniture, with anything at all. If our workers are going to be paid for their labor in hard currency, at least in part, a favorable turnaround in the economy will occur quite soon.

[Zhelnorova] Where could this money be "turned into goods?"

[Petrakov] In the same place it is now, in hard-currency shops, or at regular shops where two prices are going to be set for goods.

[Zhelnorova] However, in any event we will have to get rid of surplus money whereas it is being issued continuously instead: The Minfin is acting like a counterfeiter. Where is the way out?

[Petrakov] We should summon up the courage to stop paying the collectives for the products which are not needed. We should provide an opportunity to select what is to be produced exactly to the enterprises because if this is resolved by the planning organs, the enterprises are relieved of the responsibility for unneeded merchandise.

Furthermore, we cannot restructure our economy without opening it to the world market. Attempts to cure the economy without vigorously plugging into the international division of labor are a nonsensical endeavor. We need Western technology and Western capital. However, they will never come here unless we can settle with them in hard rubles.

We must join all international economic organizations, including the International Monetary Fund. A proper currency should be introduced for the enterprises which already have ties to foreign capital without waiting until we get a handle on our economy as a whole. Otherwise, we will never get a handle on it. This market sector with the hard ruble should be the generator of restructuring in the entire economy.

We must reduce capital investment, carry out conversion, and reduce the Armed Forces. Incidentally, in the NEP period, Lenin reduced the Army by a factor of nine: By the end of the Civil War, it was 5 million strong, and by 1923, 550,000 persons remained in the Army. After all, this is a very essential aspect of curing the economy. We need a small professional army. This is also a problem of labor resources. We talk about the need for leasing in agriculture, but who is going to engage in it if the average age of our peasants is quite high?! How are they going to operate as farmers? I think that the issue of rejuvenating rural areas should be associated with a sharp reduction of the Armed Forces. Preferences should be introduced for those who want to move to rural areas. We have introduced preferences for students, and now we should do this for the lads in rural areas.

There also is conversion. Tremendous capital investment is needed in order to shift military plants to producing civilian products. We should also do it intelligently. Why should we change the product lines of military aviation plants if, in the opinion of specialists themselves, they can produce competitive aircraft and sell them for hard currency?

It might be expedient to set up joint enterprises at these very plants. They have skilled labor, a high standard of technological discipline, and the infrastructure. Besides, the problem of reducing the number of employees in the course of conversion will be obviated.

[Zhelnorova] Perhaps the manufacture of military materiel at these enterprises could go on, but for foreign sales rather than for us? Or is it impossible due to some considerations?

[Petrakov] Why not? This is conversion through the sales of military materiel. We have already started selling the MiG-29, and have removed the fig leaf from our secrets. Why can't we sell the things which are in demand? We sell such materiel, and buy consumer goods with the proceeds.

We should take a specific view of the situation. Some specialists maintain that we will only be able to switch to the convertible ruble once we have restructured our economy and saturated the market with merchandise. In turn, I believe that we will not be able to accomplish this without introducing our hard currency. We have an opportunity to do so at present.

Coordinated Arms Conversion Plan Called For

PM0410150289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 40, 1 Oct 89 p 6

[Oleg Mamalyga article: "Blasting Away Money. Conversion: A Look Into the Future"—first four paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Conversion has become a burning issue for the Soviet people recently, but the potential economic advantages involved in the changing over of the war industry to non-military production have so far not been realized here. This country's TV and the press like to report instances of some or other plant going over from the manufacturing of, say, intermediate-range missiles to, say, baby carriages. However, such instances are few and far between.

The scope of conversion will ultimately depend on the success of the East-West talks on the reducton and elimination of all types and classes of armaments. Progress here inspires hope for conversation.

In view of this, a resolute and large-scale conversion must be prepared for in advance, and with regard for the positive and negative experience provided by the Soviet-U.S. agreement to eliminate intermediate-range missiles. We must look ahead and build the legal, technological and moral basis for the first step of conversion: More effective utilization of the former military equipment and military-production technologies and know-how in the interest of the national economy.

Here's what the USSR state prize-winning designer Oleg Mamalyga thinks about the issue.

Tungsten Thrown Away

Since the INF Treaty was signed, the USSR has been meticulously following it. Both sides stand to profit immensely from each of the Treaty's terms. Any material loss involved becomes all the more offensive.

The Soviet Union has opted for the simplest but also the most wasteful method of missile destruction: By blowing them up. Americans chose a wiser way: They burn out the engines at each stage and utilize the rest.

If we adopt the method used by Americans, about one million rubles; worth of superstrong steel, titanium, tungsten and other materials will, according to my calculations, be saved, for the benefit of the Soviet national economy.

We can save about five million rubles if we preseve intact the steering mechanism of rocket states, which can find application in machine buidling and other industries. Another several million rubles would be saved if we recover superstrong glass-reinforced plastic tubes of 970-2000 mm in diameter.

If rocket stages are burned up rather than blow up, then vast amounts of aluminum oxide used as abrasive dust in machine tool-making can be recovered under specific conditions. Burning of the rocket engine of a single RMD-23 missile can yield about one ton of this abrasive dust costing 250-300 rubles. However, that type of rocket engine is the smallest among those to be destroyed under the INF Treaty.

It is impossible to precisely assess the gains (and not only in the material sense) from opting for buning up instead of blowing up. When a missile especially the RDS-10, with its glass-reinforced plastic transport container is blown up, vast amounts of minute particles of glass-reinforced plastic, as well as other unknown harmful substances, escape into the atmosphere.

Advance Preparations

Our experience prompts us to urgently make some concrete decisions designed to steer us along the most rational route for conversion resulting from disarmament talks.

Here is the gist of my proposals which I have forwarded to the people's deputies of the USSR.

I think that, first of all, we must urgently set up some interdepartmental teams of experts searching for optimal ways to utilize the armaments, the reduction or elimination of which is already under negotiation. On recommendations from these teams, the best ways for the elimination of armaments or their adaptation to peaceful purposes must be specified in future agreements.

Missiles could be used to put satellites into orbit, under international control. The same applies to aircraft and ships.

The firing of rocket engines could also serve peaceful purposes: Scientists would be able to examine processes going on under 100 atm of pressure at a temperature of over 3000 degrees Celsius.

Let's keep in mind that, according to proposals from the USSR about the reduction of levels of conventional forces in Europe, the WTO [Warsaw Treaty Organisation] member-states would have to eliminate 40,000 battle tanks, about 42,000 combat armoured vehicles, 46,000 artillery pieces and mortars. All that equipment is of high quality since it passed Defence Ministry tests.

Suppose all that weaponry costs 100 billion rubles. Then the utilization (recovery for the national economy) of materials alone would bring non-military industries two to five billion rubles. The employment of "disarmed" engines of missiles or other carriers, tanks, etc., would return the national economy nine to ten billion rubles, while the use of prime movers would be worth over 20 billion rubles.

Naturally, it is supposed that all procedures envisaged by future agreements and necessary to prevent the equipment from being reconverted are observed.

Of course, these assessments are not necessarily precise. Still they are a good illustration of the general picture and reveal prospects which should be thoroughly considered today.

Issues of conversion have been taken up in the USSR by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, its State Commission on Military-Industrial Issues, the State Planning Committee and the defence industries. One thing is lacking, however: A master organization or, to be more precise, a system involved with the economy of disarmament.

Isn't this why the rockets were blown up, with no regard for the economic consequences?

True, the State Planning Committee has already started to work on the economy of disarmament. Some tanks are being re-equipped. But, as yet, this is a very timid beginning, accompanied by press photos of tanks prepared for remelting. It is impossible to be reconciled to such a situation. The affair will hardly start moving if the relevant commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet are not linked to the solving of this problem.

The task facing the Soviet economy in connection with conversion is of such a great scope, that in order to solve it, it may be necessary to adopt a special law on setting up a state system of management of the economy of disarmament. A state committee on the economy of disarmament, headed by first vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, could be the central element of such a system.

The activities of this system would be, as I see it, more fruitful, if there were a journal with a large circulation dealing with conversion problems.

Success in improving the efficiency of disarmament, I think, will be determined in a large measure by the kind of legislative regulation of the protection of state and military secrets. In this connection it seems reasonable to envisage military hardware being declassified, let's say, three-five years after it goes into mass production, with the agreement of the Defence Ministry. Such a law would reliably protect Soviet defence interests and would at the same time block departmental arbitrariness and irresponsibility, which are inevitable under an uncontrolled system of secrecy.

Among laws involving conversion it would also be expedient to take such steps as holding competitions for the optimum use of liquidated arms; the organization of international contacts dealing with conversion; and cooperation with foreign capital for doing this.

The last point is this: So far, the moral and psychological aspect of the economy of disarmament has been completely neglected. It is time the "engineers of human souls", i.e., authors, playwrights, film and stage directors, and journalists come to grips with the problem of the "human side of conversion". After all, it is hard for somebody devoting the better part of one's life to the noble work of creating weapons for the defence of the Motherland, to see mushroom clouds destroying the fruits of their endeavours, and to share in the delight of the mass media concerning the size of the craters!

Conversion of Obsolete Ships to Scrap Described

PM0510093589 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 26 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with I.I. Morozov, director of the All-Union "Sudoeksport" Association, by Yu. Ovsyannikov under the rubric "Problems and Solutions": "What Price Destroyers Now?"—date and place unspecified, first four paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Conversion programs in our country.... They have given a businesslike boost to many things. In particular, to the problems associated with producing a more proprietorial approach to obsolete military hardware.

Take obsolete warships that have given good service. What are we to do with them? Mothball them? We would be losing out ourselves if we did that. Actually, we used to do it in the past.

But whereas before we preferred not to discuss ships that had long outlived their usefulness and kept their numbers and "ranges" a secret, recently we have taken a far more justifiable approach in this area. Our Navy has now started providing information on many such vessels and has begun to earn foreign exchange from the hulks of idle metal, selling "units" that have been written off to be broken up by foreign firms.

I discovered that these operations have been directly handled by the "Sudotransport" firm, which is part of the All-Union "Sudoeksport" Association. Its director, I.I. Morozov, told me the following during our talk:

[Morozov] As of April last year our firm has received a new function—the right to enter the international market with proposals to sell written-off naval ships for scrap.

[Ovsyannikov] Was this a "Sudotransport" initiative?

[Morozov] The situation is determined by the USSR Council of Ministers resolution, under which the Navy has to define the patrol boats, destroyers, minesweepers, auxiliary vessels, submarines, and cruisers available for sale abroad as scrap.... The list was drawn up. We handle the sales side. Foreign buyers, it must be said, have been very quick off the mark.

[Ovsyannikov] We'd like to hear about some specific deals.

[Morozov] I'd prefer not to go into any particular detail at this stage.

[Ovsyannikov] Are commercial secrets involved?

[Morozov] Undoubtedly, that is the case, too. Warship metal is a highly valuable market commodity. In working out a price we need a patient and flexible strategy so as not to sell ourselves short, so to speak, but also not to scare off a potential wholesale purchaser. In short, you have to play it by ear. But to let readers get their bearings I can say that each tonne of "military" scrap is sold for approximately $200. [Morozov ends]

Listening to this, I thought: Successful sales of ship scrap metal on the foreign market are necessary, of course. But surely we need the high-grade metal produced during smelting for our own needs in this country. Does this not make the "value" of the foreign exchange earnings less important?

I.I. Morozov explained that a certain proportion of naval vessels are processed for use as scrap in the Soviet Union, too, of course.

[Morozov] But in principle the finishing base at "Vtorchermet" is technically weak. In this case we need specialized and high-productivity ship-breaking equipment, which is in very short supply in the country. That is the reality. It, too, should be taken into account in deals with foreign clients.

[Ovsyannikov] And which of these firms is showing the greatest interest?

[Morozov] Good business contacts have emerged with corresponding firms in Greece, Turkey, the FRG, Spain.... We have had a series of meaningful talks with the Swedes and representatives of the Norwegian trading firms "Fram Shipping Bermudas" and "Fram Tanker." Incidentally, several written-off vessels have already been exported through the northern "gateway"—the port of Murmansk.

[Ovsyannikov] How is this done?

[Morozov] The buyers arrange the export procedure themselves. That is, they organize the towing of the metal or its delivery by other transportation.

[Ovsyannikov] What about the most recent results of your firm's activity. Can you give us some examples?

[Morozov] Yes, I can. Over the past few days of September Soviet scrap metal has been delivered to foreign firms (under previously signed contracts). The deliveries have been taking place from the Black Sea. [Morozov ends]

That is what Igor Ivanovich Morozov said. The director of the "Sudotransport" firm now often deals with goods that are not new. Thus, one of the deals under discussion included a fifties-vintage cruiser of ours as well as even more "ancient" submarines.... But, we repeat, the metal finds customers.

The scale of the operations is increasing. I.I. Morozov believes that trading and production organizations in the Ukraine—the "Glavrechflot" Production Association, for instance, and the recently created "Ukrimpeks" foreign trading firm—could become tangibly involved in this work.

[Ovsyannikov] Do you think that they too can find work in exporting obsolete warships?

[Morozov] Not only warships. After all, there are so many "conventional" vessels of all kinds—merchant ships and barges—rusting away in coastal areas. And, under an international convention to which our country is a signatory, we need to quickly clear the coastline of everything cluttering up the environment. So this question is also an ecological issue.

Progressive Taxation of Wage Funds Discussed

PM0510143989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Concerning Taxes Again"]

[Text] With the debate about progressive taxation of cooperative workers' income still going on, economic reality is already drawing attention to another glaring problem—the disproportionate growth of wages in the state sector.

On 2 October there was a conference at the USSR Council of Ministers to discuss various aspects of the effect of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On the taxation of state enterprises' (associations') wage funds" and the prospects for improving the country's tax policy. Those invited to attend included leading experts from the USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR State Bank, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and major plants in the capitol. Representatives of the media participated in the exchange of opinions.

Academician L. Abalkin, who was in the chair, stressed that the decision on the progressive taxation of wage funds is a necessary measure. The practice of paying money that is not backed up by the requisite supply of goods has acquired dangerous dimensions of late.

The resolution adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet should halt the spiraling inflation in the country's economy. Its action is regulated—in its initial form it will operate for 15 months. During that period the new taxation mechanism will prompt enterprises to switch as quickly as possible to the second model of economic accountability and the widening of the range of consumer goods for whose production tax concessions will be granted.

Science, Technology Conference Planned 11-13 Oct

18250211 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 39, 30 Sep-6 Oct 89 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Commodity-Information"]

[Text] The first "East-West" conference on scientific, technical, and business information**will be held from 11 through 13 October in Moscow at the International Center for Scientific and Technical Information (MTsNTI).**

In the West information has long been a real commodity, a kind of catalyst for scientific and technical progress which enables businessmen and managers to follow the condition of "their own" and related firms, the product sales market, and so forth. An effective instrument for disseminating this product is the computer network. There are more than 200 general purpose commercial networks in the world today. In essence**a global system of machine communications**is being created.

Unfortunately, our successes in this area are far more modest. A centralized system for the automated exchange of information with foreign computer networks and data banks did not go into operation in the USSR until 1980.

This year the MTsNTI in conjunction with the British firm Learned Information, Ltd. has invited 20 leading Western firms that specialize in the area of the information business to Moscow to a conference on scientific, technical, and business on-line information. Specialists from 11 other member countries of the MTsNTI will also participate in the conference: Hungary, the GDR, Bulgaria, the SRV, Cuba, the DPRK, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the CSSR, and the USSR.

The conferences will be accompanied by **an exhibition of new information equipment and technology**, and representatives of Western firms will be given **the opportunity to display their products** for participants from the socialist countries.

Telephone numbers of the organizing committee: 943-15-11 and 198-70-10.

Registration fee—R900 per participant.

Present Rail System, Possible Improvements Cited

OW0310082589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Oct 89

[From the "120 Minutes" program, presented by Mikhail Solentsev and Svetlana Tokareva]

[Text] [Tokareva] We now offer you a segment of a conversation our parliamentary correspondent, Vladislav Flyarkovskiy, had with Vladimir Ivanovich Kolesnikov, chairman of the subcommittee for railway transport and USSR people's deputy. This conversation took place immediately after a discussion by the session of the chambers [of the Supreme Soviet] of the situation on the Transcaucasus Railway.

[Begin recording] [Video shows Flyarkovskiy and Kolesnikov in the foyer of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses] [Kolesnikov] Ethnic tensions are being transferred to tensions in transportation, which in turn boomerangs back to further exacerbate the crisis in the nationalities issue. This is why I consider that, to somehow stabilize the situation concerning the nationalities issue, more stability is needed, particularly in transportation.

[Flyarkovskiy] Now if I try to conjecture...[changes thought] after all, the railways in our country are divided up into regions in the administrative system. In addition, these regions are larger than the administrative territorial units. For example, the Baltic Railway unites three republics, the Transcaucasus Railway unites three republics, and so forth. An idea could emerge, which probably will not be supported by many, that possibly it is necessary to eliminate this division of the railways and create a unified railways system in the country. Then these sorts of precedents could be avoided. Well, by an iron hand or not, or by whatever means, maybe this would be the way. What do you think?

[Kolesnikov] You know, I would say that generally-...[changes thought] well, take the European countries, they not only unite the railways within their countries, but they unite interstate railways as well. They make them into high-speed railways that are becoming profitable. In other words, states are coming to terms on this.

On the other hand, we, our own people within our own state, have not been able to come to an agreement yet. Therefore, I consider that, indeed, we need to somehow give it some sort of state status....

[Flyarkovskiy, interrupting] That means another move to centralization. I already find my own idea unappealing. That would be centralization again.

[Kolesnikov] You know, I will tell you that within this kind of...[changes thought] centralization must exist from the point of view of the railways' capability to transit the country and haul goods [Propusknaya i provoznaya sposobnost]. However, in the economic sense each structure in the railways industry must have its independence. In other words, if I want to send freight cars carrying raw materials through some region, I must reach agreement with the corresponding branch of the railway on its specific economic interest. You understand.

[Flyarkovskiy] A dialectical attitude, I understand.

[Kolesnikov] There must be state order, in this sense. In other words, work concerning traffic cannot be turned over to the complete control of local self-administration or someone else. [end recording]

Scientific

Cosmonauts Complete First Month Aboard 'Mir'

LD0610090489 Moscow TASS in English 0727 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—A month has passed since Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov blasted off on a space mission.

Aboard the Mir orbital station, they have completed the preparation of the service module, which is expected to dock with the station this autumn, sources at the Mission Control Centre told TASS.

The module will expand the range of activities of the space crew, who have already tested associated equipment and installed additional units.

The module is equipped with a airlock chamber to enter outer space and many devices, including a "space bicycle" for cosmonauts' independent movement in space. The module will also carry units to re-equip the station.

fuel, water and food, as well as a biological system to practice breeding birds in zero gravity.

Aleksandr Kotov, shift head of the flight, told TASS that today the crew conducted experiments on their cardiovascular systems. They carried out similar research at the beginning of the mission, and now the cosmonauts will study the changes in their metabolisms.

They are also to study the Earth's natural resources, mainly for Soviet agencies and organisations, Kotov said.

The radiation situation aboard the station is constantly monitored as well. Twice a day the crew takes samples with the "Lyulin" device in various parts of the station.

The cosmonauts are carrying out experiments in space astronomy with the use of the international "Roentgen" orbital observatory. In particular, they will make a series of observations of the Scorpio X-1 Roentgen source, using Roentgen telescopes of the Kvant (quantum) astrophysical module.

Shatura Laser Research Center Profiled

18620251 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Sep 89 p 4

[Article by N. Marunov: "Made in Shatura: Report from USSR Academy of Sciences Research Center for Technological Lasers"]

[Text] **The local residents like to say: "Everything is a first in Shatura." The first GRES [State District Electric Power Station] was built here; and in the second year of perestroyka, the first laser center was established in this small town in the Moscow suburbs.**

The Shatura center is not only engaged in science—it is also an actual production plant. Everything is done here—from the development of experimental models to series production. For example, not only manual laborers work in the assembly shop, but also scientists and designers. If something has to be finished off or changes have to be made, let us say, to a component part, then it is done on the spot.

There is a whole family of lasers in the technological processes development shop. The MTL-2 with a 2-kilowatt capacity is designed for the hardening of metallic articles. The center has concluded dozens of contracts for its delivery to industrial enterprises of the country. Next to them are laser- "welders." The speed of their work is simply astonishing. Right before your eyes two sections of pipe are joined in seconds with an ideally even seam. When this is done, there is no need for any additional materials, like tin. A light speck—the visible end of the laser ray—contains colossal energy. Owing to this kind of concentration, even a laser with one and a half kilowatts is capable of cutting metal with a thickness of up to 4 millimeters.

Today, the NITs [scientific research center] is also developing second generation lasers. Here there are other criteria: Emphasis is not simply on the development of an emitter, but on the quality of the emission. This means that there is a requirement for appropriate optics and reliable microprocessor equipment. And the laser center collaborates with virtually all European countries that are CEMA members. The interrelationships are built on the basis of bilateral agreements and contracts. Each does what it is particularly capable of doing: Czechoslovakian colleagues supply the power sources , the Bulgarians—technological equipment, and the Hungarians—automation systems.... The center cooperates actively with the Sofia NPO [Scientific Production Association] "Optika," the Prague Polytechnical Institute, and the well-known enterprise "Beroye" [People's Republic of Bulgaria]. With the partners from Plovdiv, it was possible to go into the development of a principally new laser with a high frequency excitation power source.

All in all, dozens of joint developments were executed. Thus, the results of research on the development of materials can at least be utilized today in practice. The first test batches of automated laser complexes will be produced this year. And in the next 5-year plan, particular attention will be paid to laser microelectronics and instrument building, and to laser medicine.

By itself, the laser, being a unique creation, will simply be a toy without equipment that converts it into an instrument. The consumer requires not just some kind of a beam emitter, but a laser machine tool, and to put it more accurately, an automated laser technological system. This can be a so-called coordinate table on which the part being developed is placed and which automatically changes position under the laser beam, or a robotistic system, or a conveyor—in a word, a system that is capable of flexible readjustment. One such Bulgarian-produced manipulator with a laser cutter was demonstrated at the "Metalloobrabotka-89" [Metal Processing-89"] exhibition which was held recently in Moscow.

"But there is a shortage of precisely these units. What is being done in cooperation with foreign partners is clearly inadequate. We are practically not provided with any domestic automated systems," says general director G. Abilsintov. "USSR Minstankoprom [Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry] is not able to satisfy our requirements."

Significant figures: In recent years, the USSR produced laser equipment for a total of R100 million, but in the West, the total was 3-4 billion. The secret is that these billions also include the cost of equipment.

"The USSR Minpribor [Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems] could not supply us with controllers," complains V. Gontar, chief of the department of automation and computer equipment. "So we set up our own mini-production. We buy integrated circuits and adapt them for work with lasers. According to the assessments of specialists, our systems

can compete in reliability with 'Siemens.'" There was no instance in which our electronics failed in the process of laser operation. Simultaneously, we began the production of control systems that we are selling to our plants and to Bulgaria. We now have proposals for more than we can satisfy. For example, during our trip to Beijing, Chinese colleagues expressed a readiness to collaborate with us. Although there are plants in the PRC that were built by the Japanese, they have become interested specifically in systems that are adapted for lasers.

Today the collective is working on the development of lasers with a power of 10-15 kilowatts. However, there are no specific consumers right now, although 20 contracts have been concluded just this year. In fact, the accumulated scientific-production potential is cut off from the market.

But again, it is here that collaboration with foreign partners can play an important role. The CEMA countries are planning to establish a large network of specialized regional engineering centers of a broad profile that are supplied with laser equipment and that will fill orders of individual enterprises. They will lease laser equipment, provide maintenance service for laser equipment, and train personnel. Three such centers are now being set up in the USSR—in a locality near Moscow, in Leningrad, and in Alma-Ata.

The volume of work of the [Shatura] center in the near future is estimated at more than R23 million. Of this, according to a statement of the director, the collective intends to earn 12 from the delivery of laser technology, and the remaining 11 will be covered by budget financing. Therefore, a lot depends on an increase in the profitability of the NITs. But how does one achieve this?

"Within 2 years," the director believes, "we will go over to leasing. I think that we will then be able to breathe more freely...."

Military

Akhromeyev Interviewed on Defense Budget

PM0510130989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev by unnamed TASS correspondent: "Reduction Possible and Necessary: Marshal Akhromeyev on Soviet Military Spending in 1990"—date and place not specified; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet committees and the chambers' commissions are continuing to discuss documents presented for examination by the second session of parliament, including the drafts of the country's state plan and budget for 1990. For the first time deputies are also examining proposals for the USSR's military spending for the coming year. What is the opinion of a professional military man on this part of the budget? Your TASS correspondent put that question to Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, USSR people's deputy and adviser to the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Akhromeyev] The reduction of Soviet military spending in 1990 by R6.4 billion is both possible and necessary. That step is in line with the USSR's present policy of peace, easing military tension, and increasing the defense industry's role in consumer goods production.

I remind you that the country's draft budget for next year as presented by the Soviet Government for parliamentary examination envisages the reduction of military spending from R77.3 billion in 1989 to R70.9 billion in 1990. I believe that achieving even that figure will take a struggle. Clearly, the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions could propose a larger reduction in defense spending.

For my part, I consider the military spending for 1990 proposed by the country's government to be well thought out. The figures have been coordinated with the USSR Defense Ministry and the defense sectors of industry. Furthermore, these proposals also take into account the reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces by 500,000 men. The reduction of military spending will help to resolve the difficulties which have occurred in consumer goods production. At the same time, this budget will satisfy the minimum needs of the Armed Forces. There are many shortcomings and problems in the Armed Forces, but it must be borne in mind that there are even more difficulties in the national economy.

Along with the general reduction in defense spending, appropriations for scientific research and experimental design work in the military sphere are also being reduced. Life necessitates this reduction. But, to be frank, this is undesirable, especially if you bear in mind that those who call us their likely enemy are conducting similar work across a broad front. The USSR Supreme Soviet should have the final say here.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion on the conversion of the Soviet military industry?

[Akhromeyev] A detailed plan for it is now being worked out and will be presented to the Soviet parliament at the end of this year. With regard to its general features, I would say that this document envisages a considerable reduction in military hardware and armaments before 1995.

Whereas in 1986 civilian production constituted 40 percent of the total product mix of the military industry, by 1995 that figure is due to rise to 60 percent. As early as next year consumer goods production in this sphere of the Soviet economy will increase by R10.1 billion. It is planned to considerably increase the production of medical equipment and equipment for light industry, the agro-industrial complex, and trade. Civil aviation will receive some new aircraft in the near future: The Il 96-300, the Tu-204, and the Il-114.

I should like to stress that the defense sectors have always produced a considerable quantity of consumer goods. Now we are talking about a considerable increase in the contribution made by that sphere of the Soviet economy to the resolution of this most important task.

[Correspondent] Recently the question of a professional army in the USSR has been raised more than once. What is your opinion on this question?

[Akhromeyev] There cannot be a professional army in the Soviet Union for two reasons. First, in conditions of the persisting military danger for the Soviet Union the existence of an army based on universal compulsory military service is justified. Only that kind of army makes it possible to have well trained mobilized reserves ready for use if the situation deteriorates sharply. Second, a professional army requires far greater material resources and money, which are unobtainable in the present economic situation.

I admit that the idea of a professional army may seem highly attractive to many people, but it is unrealistic to talk about this now.

Development of Army's Sports Performance Discussed

PM0510142789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[Colonel O. Vikhrev report: "The Tasks of Army Sports"]

[Excerpts] A broad range of questions associated with the further development of sports in the Armed Forces and the activity of Army and Navy central and other sports clubs in training athletes and teams capable of competing successfully in all-union arenas and representing our motherland fittingly in major international competitions were discussed at an enlarged sitting of the USSR Defense Ministry Sports Committee Presidium, with participation by leading trainers and physical training and sports specialists from military districts, groups of forces, and fleets.

Army General K. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister; Lieutenant General V. Grebenyuk, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and A. Kolesov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, took part in the sitting. [passage omitted]

Army Gen K. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister, who delivered the concluding speech, summed up the sitting's work.